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193  
LETTERS and JOURNALS,

Written by the deceased

Mr ROBERT BAILLIE,

Principal of the University of Glasgow.

Carefully transcribed by ROBERT AIKEN.

Containing an impartial account of public transactions, Civil, Ecclesiastic, and Military, both in England and Scotland, from 1637 to 1662; a period, perhaps, the most remarkable that is to be met with in the British History.

W I T H

An Account of the Author's Life, prefixed;

A N D

A GLOSSARY, annexed.

V. 2

V O L. II.

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# E R R A T A.

V O L. I. 1803500

In page 4. line 16. in some copies, *for* Rolloh *read* Rollock; p. 35. l. 15.; p. 54. l. 42.; p. 95. l. 12.; p. 101. l. 2.; p. 110. l. 44.; p. 118. l. 24.; p. 137. l. 36.; p. 177. l. 1.; p. 202. l. 41.; p. 297. l. 36. 37.; p. 299. l. 15.; p. 303. l. 5.; p. 314. l. 17.; p. 335. l. 40. in all these *for* Pollock *read* Rollock.

<i>Pag.</i>	<i>lin.</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>read</i>
67.	22.	our prince	your prince
89.	24.	Parcus	Pareus
135.	13.	uproar	uproars
144.	33.	their	thir or these
145.	5.	voicers	voices
163.	26.	Moufley	Moyfley
167.	32.	Moufley	Moyfley
170.	8.	Frewman	Trewman
176.	7.	high gate	gate
188.	39.	Bamer	Banier
189.	8.	dele most.	
193.	39.	us	as
216.	30.	tumble	frumble
218.	25.	Prim	Prin
230.	16.	Collington	Cottington
231.	12.	Pak	Oak
245.	2.	Fynes	Fiennes
250.	6.	Ridiers	Rudyard
251.	8.	Slydan	Selden
256.	2.	fail	fall
261.	31.	Atherlon	Atherton
262.	29.	Addirton	Atherton
289.	19.	Pagot	Paget
—	41.	alway	away
290.	29.	<i>Altar</i>	<i>Altare</i>
302.	23.	Andrew Pollock	Henry Rollock
305.	22.	Synecymnias	Smeetymnus
309.	12.	burrow	borrow
—	25.	Monhey	Monkey
—	37.	Kirkenbog	Birkenbog
320.	6.	Balcolume	Balcolmy
350.	35.	Strang	Strange
358.	14.	leleaguer	beleaguer
365.	32.	Collhittoch's	Collkittoch's
373.	ult.	they could confide.	could they confide?
415.	25.	Nicolson	Nicholas
417.	41.	women	woman
444.	24.	calumnities	calamities



# E R R A T A.

## V O L. II.

<i>Pag.</i>	<i>lin.</i>	<i>for</i>	<i>read</i>
2.	4.	miskent	mischent
57.	35.	Hoak	Haak
65.	18.	best	feet
83.	14.	evented	everted
351.	34.	Forstenfon	Torstenfon
175.	43.	barbarians	Barbarins
234.	38.	mash	mask
270.	24.	above	at
281.	27.	Duke	Duke,
288.	1.	constant	confident
293.	1.	the tower	the tower;
321.	20.	is so far	in so far
324.	41.	our	your
336.	8.	but	put
338.	33.	to mind	to my mind
367.	14.	the	they
393.	39.	no	so
416.	43.	ancient Mr Rous	ancient friend Mr Rous



# LETTERS and JOURNALS

WRITTEN BY

Principal ROBERT BAILLIE.

50. *To Mr William Spang. April 19. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

YOURS of the 12th of this instant this day I received, whereby I perceive you had not received what I had written with the last post. That any of the assembly have written for Mr Durie, is more than I know; that the synod did never write for him, or any man else, I know assuredly; for smaller actions exceed their power. His letter to the synod I heard read with no great regard; for it favoured of somewhat. If he be pleased to come over to Oxford, he may resolve to be taken while he lives by us all here for a malignant; and if he should come to us with the least tincture of Episcopacy, or liturgick learning, he would not be welcome to any I know. As you love the man, persuade him to stay at this time where he is: he cannot be so well or honourably employed any where I know. As for Dr Forbes, you have done very well, in my mind, who have not given him your pulpit. As you desire not to be mistaken by too many, meddle not with him, or any who flee from our church-censure. I know there are fundry exceptions against that man, and that the last general assembly gave order to enter in process against him. No man did more for him in the assembly of Aberdeen than I; but it is my earnest advice to you, to send him away, and not to engage yourself in any of his affairs.

Our affairs here go very strangely. The disaster at Newark cast us much down; the victory at Winchester puts us as far up. We hoped Sir William Waller would shortly regain all the north; we feared Prince Rupert would make havock in my Lord Manchester's associations.





tions: but in both we were clean disappointed. Prince Rupert made a hasty march to Shrewsbury; Sir William Waller's forces melted quickly to a poor handful; the Londoners, and others, as is their milkennt custom, after a piece of service, get home: so that Waller being weaker than the quickly-rallied forces of the enemy, were forced to retire without the conquest of one foot of ground. We are exceeding sad and ashamed that our army, so much talked of, has done as yet nothing at all. What can be the reason of it we cannot guess, only we think, that God, to humble our pride, and to disappoint the carnal confidence of our friends, has not yet been pleased to assist them. These bygone days there, has been the matter of our shame and fear. We were begun to think, it was the General's wisdom, having Sunderland, a port open by sea, and having quartered by east and south to Durham, whereby he was provided in plenty of victuals and forage, to defeat the enemy without stroke of sword. In this hope we were confirmed, when the other news we heard of the great victory of Sir Thomas Fairfax and Meldrum at Selby, which made our friends absolutely masters of the fields in Yorkshire, and enabled them, without impediment, to follow their instructions, of going down to join with our army, or fall on Newcastle's back. This put us in hopes quickly to be conquerors of all the north. Only this was our grief, that little honour would come to our army, which had so long done so little. Ungrate people did not consider that our lying there did keep off that great and very considerable army of Newcastle, who being free of us, had, without doubt, not only kept Fairfax in his old holes, but had, in all likelihood, been long ago at the gates of London. However, we were glad that God should end the work, how small a part forever we should have in the praise. But behold we have other thoughts this day put in our heads: Prince Rupert, we are advertised, has gathered together an army of 12,000 men; and that, with all speed, he is marching northward to join with Newcastle, and to crush Fairfax in his way, that all together may thunder on our army. We are looking up to God. This, if he help not, may wrack us. We have sent to Manchester to follow. We hope our army will be advertised, that they may fight before Prince Rupert come. All here thought Prince Rupert would have come hitherward; but the fatal laziness of all, and treachery of the faction here, makes them all secure at Oxford, and misregard our threats,



threats. This day was appointed a rendezvous at Aylesbury for our forces, more than 30,000, to go seek the King where-ever he be. Oxford was said to prepare for a siege; the Queen and the children to be in the way to Bristol, and thence to Ireland or France: but not a man have we in readiness; Waller's army is molten away; Manchester's are mostly north; the General will be recruiting till doomsday; the city is on their new motions of levying, on their pay, 20,000 foot: but while these conceits are in daily debate, the enemy is in action. Your good ambassadors have so encouraged and strengthened the potent faction in both houses, and in the city, that we must be miserably spending all our thoughts and time in drawing up articles of peace, while the enemy is encompassing us for our ruin. It is said that a peace to the King's mind is drawn up already in private, which we must either be persuaded or forced to accept. Great jealousies here. One favourable blow in the north would make both the open and secret malignants despair, and take our too merciful conditions. They say the Queen's child is dead in her belly, and that she takes, now and then, convulsions of a palsy.

Our assembly at last has perfected ordination, both in the doctrinal and directory parts. I think, to-morrow, they shall present it to the Houses. It has cost us much labour, and above twenty long sessions. I hope it shall do good, and over all this land shall erect presently an association of ministers to ordain. Our presbytery shall shortly follow. The Independents are resolved yet to give in their reasons against us, and that will be the beginning of an open schism. Likely, after that, we will be forced to deal with them as open enemies. They have been here most unhappy instruments, the principal, if not the sole causes, why the parliament were so long in calling an assembly, and when it was called, why nothing in a whole year could be gotten concluded. In the mean time they, over all the land, are making up a faction to their own way, the far most part whereof is fallen off to Anabaptism and Antinomianism. Sundry also worse, if worse needs be: the mortality of the soul, the denial of angels and devils, and cast off all sacraments, and many blasphemous things. All these are from New England, where divers are in irons for their blasphemies, condemned to perpetual slavery, and well near by a few votes it went



for the life. They proclaim their fears of the rigours of presbytery. Possibly they are conscious of their unsufferable tenets, and certainly they know their own rigour against the Presbyterians. In all New England, no liberty of living for a Presbyterian. Whoever there, were they angels for life and doctrine, will essay to set up a different way from them, shall be sure of present banishment. Be diligent, we beseech you, with your synod. While I am writing this, praise to God for evermore, a messenger comes to us from our army, shewing, that on Friday night the enemy hearing of Fairfax's victory, marched away from Durham towards the Tyse; that Saturday and Sunday we were following, and were within three miles of them, resolving to follow where-ever they went. The great God be with us. I must close, for the post is going.

51. For Mr William Spang. April 25. 1644.

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

Yours of the 18th I received. You have some of mine since. The employments of Mr C. was procured by Mr Strickland's letters, calling for him oft by name; besides, he is of very good esteem with us all; neither had we any ready of such trust. The books you wrote for you shall have all shortly, and what more you desire. I wish all odds in our counts were evened; for I am too long behind; wherefore I pray you write hither for what you please. We are all very sensible of your prudent diligence; by all means go on with your divines for their answer. I wish these whom you have engaged in Zealand were put on to engage with themselves the divines of the other provinces, especially the presbytery of Leyden, also Rivet and Voetius. There is great need; for this is a very wavering and fickle people. Write what they please against bishops and ceremonies *obiter*, for our confirmation; for these are now out of the hearts of all here almost: but above all, and in earnest, let them exhort to be watchful against anarchical schisms, and the heresies of Antinomians and Anabaptists. These three come together cordially against all the Reformed churches, and increase so much in number and boldness, as easily they would carry all here to a lamentable confusion, if the fear  
of



of our armies did not keep them in order; and, as it is, many fear they shall do much, if God prevent it not. We have given in to the parliament our conclusions anent ordination; whereupon, I think, we have spent above forty long sessions. To prevent a present rupture with the Independents, we were content not to give in our propositions of presbyteries and congregations, that we might not necessitate them to give in their remonstrance against our conclusions, which they are peremptor to do when we come on that matter. We judged it also convenient to delay till we had gone through the whole matters of the presbyteries and synods; to send them up rather in their full strength than by pieces; also we suffered ourselves to be persuaded to eschew that rupture at this time, when it were so dangerous for their bruckle state. The Independents having so managed their affairs, that of the officers and soldiers in Manchester's army, certainly also in the General's, and, as I hear, in Waller's likewise, more than the two parts are for them, and these of the far most resolute and confident men for the parliament-party. Judge ye if we had not need of our friends help. I wish we had letters by some of your friends means from Switzerland and Geneva; and however the French divines dare not keep publick correspondence, and I hear the chief of them are like some of yours, so much courtiers, that they will not help us in the half they dare and might, policy and prudence so far keeps down their charity and zeal; yet I think some of the ministers of Paris, and their professors, if they were dealt with by some of your friends, might, in private letters, either to some here, or some with you, write so much of their mind in this publick cause of church-government, as might contribute to the encouragement of this fainting and weak-hearted people. In any letters that come here, I wish they may be sparing of the point of the magistrate; also in the enlarging of the power of particular congregations. I wish they might speak home to that you assure is their practice, of giving ordination only to the classes, and excommunication, at least for regulating of the process; albeit we make the chief parts of the process to be led before the classes, and gives them the power of the decree; for we count it a *munus communis*, and of so high a consequence as can be, to cut off a member, not from one congregation only, but the whole church and body of Christ. Our brethren here  
are





are so peremptor, that they will by no means tie themselves so much as to advise any thing in the whole process with the classes; only when they have sentenced, if they be required, they will give an account to any whom they have offended. We have got letters this day from our army at Wetherby. The Marquis of Newcastle stole away from Durham; we followed so fast as we could. He is now with all his remaining forces, in York, and about it. We and Fairfax are joined, and lie about York, at some distance, at Selby, Wetherby, Tadcaster, &c. Prince Rupert is expected, and Manchester on his back. Likely there must be blood shed there, except God, without blood, (as hitherto we have shed very little, thanks to God), make them melt away. Waller could make no use of his victory; for presently the London foot would home. The General also called back his horse. The enemy incontinent drew up so strong, that Sir William was forced to give ground, and return to Farnham. Jealousy and laziness, and possibly correspondence with Oxford, for all our great words to keep a general rendezvous on Friday the 19th, makes that yet we are not near ready to march. We have, through your ambassadors, and the friends of Oxford among us their importunity, been more sharply debating propositions of peace than thinking of war. Yet as all other our enemies plots, so haply this shall turn to our good: for that which seems was intended for division of the nations, and of the one House from the other, and of the House of Commons among themselves, and the city among themselves, I hope shall, before all be done, unite them all the more firmly; for we are all like to agree to stand to such articles of peace as shall give the contrivers of the motion small advantage. The Queen is towards Bristol. The reports of her health are various. Proclamations from the King call for the victuals of the neighbouring counties to Oxford, or threatens fire.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

*London, April 26.*

52. To Mr David Dickson. April 29. 1644.

Reverend and Dear Brother,  
Yours, in the beginning of April, we received yesterday night.



night. Your letters and memory, believe it, are very sweet to all here. I hope before this you have received many of mine since the 18th of February. You have here the doubles of my letters to Mr William Spang, and his to me. These are to yourself, Mr Robert, and Mr G. Young; also the paper the synod gave in to the parliament. Of this no copies are yet come out; so keep it to yourself alone. Disperse the rest as you think fit. For publick news that any may see, I have sent you printed papers to spare my writing. The most in the diurnal and intelligences are true. Aulicus and Britannicus are for jests only, and not worth the reading. You have in my wife's letter a paper for foreign news. I wrote to you my mind anent the motion of our coming down to the general assembly. I am still of that mind, and my Lord Wariston thinks so with me; yea, it is all our minds that Mr Henderson cannot be spared; for the matter of both government and directory, especially in the points of prayer, sacraments, preaching, which we have given in already; the catechism, which is almost ready, and the other parts also, will shortly be in such a maturity, that about the midst and end of May it is like our work shall be hottest. Mr Henderson's absence for a little might not only retard, but also put matters so far wrong, as would not in haste be gotten righted. For any other of us to come down to the assembly, we conceive, were not only very needless, but in some respects, which I will not write, disadvantageous to affairs here and there both; yet if you on the place think fit to send for any or all of us, we are all willing and ready to obey your calls. However, in this long anarchy, the sectaries and hereticks increase marvellously; yet we are hopeful, if God might help us, to have our presbyteries erected, as we expect shortly to have them, and get the chief of the Independents to join with us in our practical conclusions, as we are labouring much for it, and are not yet out of hope, we trust, to win about all the rest of these wild and enormous people. However, for the time, the confusions about religion are very great, and remediless. There were many bickerings, and fear of breaking, about the articles of peace; but, thanks to God, I hope that fear be past. The committee of both kingdoms has unanimously agreed the articles, which my Lord Wariston, for the far most part, drew up. I think he may come down with them himself one of these days, to  
be



be agreed to by you there. Upon your first hearing of his coming to Edinburgh, make haste to be at him, for he cannot stay. The articles are such as doubtless the King will scorn, till his wicked council and party be broken, which, by God's help, will shortly be. Prince Rupert, so far as yet we hear, is to come south to join with the rest about Oxford. We hope ere long to be on the fields with a great army; Essex, Waller, and Manchester. In the mean time, Lesly and Fairfax, we hope in God, shall get York; and then we conceive the rest will faint and give over. The storm which long has been threatening you from Montrose and the rest in the south, Huntly, and these in the north, are like to break very seasonably. I hope it shall do no harm but to the contrivers. We look for a merciful and glorious end of all these troubles. I pray you remember my love and best affections to all our scholars, and to these most who give you greatest satisfaction. All of them, who will be gracious and learned, are likely to be well provided, if once we had peace. — The Lord be with you,

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

53. *For my Lord Eglinton. April 30. 1644.*

My very good Lord,

I am much refreshed to hear of your Lordship's good health in so hard and laborious services. I do oft joy to hear of your Lordship's personal valour and success. I pray God preserve your Lordship from all hurt. All our worldly hopes depend on the happiness of that your army. You are every day near the hearts of all the godly here. Next to the salvation of our souls, we wish that army prosperity. We esteem our lives and estates, and, which is more dear to us, our religion and liberties, both ours and the posterity's in all the three kingdoms, to be at this time in your hands. We trust in the goodness of our God, that he will furnish you with so much grace, wisdom, and courage, that you shall make to us, and after ages, a very good-account of these greatest and most precious jewels which you now carry on the points of your swords. We are very hopeful here, that when God gives you a prosperous day against York, it shall be a real defeating of all the enemies both before and behind you. For occurrences here, I know your Lordship in that com-

mittee



mittee receives them from much better and more legible hands than mine; only I do here present your Lordship with a copy of my poor sermon, and with my very hearty service; for well it becomes me, all the days of my life, to remain, your Lordship's very affectionate servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

54. *To Mr William Spang. May 3. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

YOURS of the 18th of April I received. You had two of me since, and this is the third; so you are much in my debt; but I most freely forgive you. For that letter of your synod, a better turn could not have been done to us. It was read with very good acceptance, and a committee is appointed, not only to translate, and transmit it to the Houses, as the former, but to think of an answer; which, according to their woeful way, cannot be expected for some months. Doubtless the point of the magistrate will hinder the printing of it here; but we wish it were printed there, and sent over, with the former of Wallachren's. No man here can get the copy of either. We have printed our letter to you both in Latin and English, why should not you do the like with yours to us? also in your Walachren letter, if I remember, you profess your putting in print your former letter to the synod; certainly there is much more use of these two latter. What I wrote, of engaging your other provinces, professors, and other churches, you will do what you may herein. I sent to you by Thomas Cunningham my sermon before; but receive now another; also three of Goodwin's pieces, one at 5 s. another at 1 s. 4 d. a third at 1 s. 6 d. I cannot help the extraordinary dearth. They say, the great sum which the author puts on his copy is the cause of it. Also Huet on Daniel, at 2 s. 10 d. and a wicked piece, which one of the Independents wrote against D. Stuart, at 6 d. In all 11 s. 4 d. For the folio bible, as yet I have not got any to my mind. I hear you may have better and cheaper there; so I would send none till you advertised again. Mr Samuel has sent you one of his sermons, and one of his great books which came out the other day; also other two to Voetius and Mr Forbes at Delft. Mr George also sends you his sermon. All these are bound up together, and





delivered to Mr Teren's man, who undertook to get all safe to you what I sent him. I cannot tell how things go here. If God do not this work, it will perish of itself without an enemy. Extreme inlack of money for all occasions, which yet daily are many and great; a mighty party in the Houses, in the city, and every where, who mind their own things, and cause such distrusts, and fears of treachery, as are formidable; in all the armies great divisions, and extreme want of pay. When we have any truce with the Independents anent our presbytery, we fall in new wars with others. For our sessions, a great party in the synod, for fear of ruling elders, and in opposition to Independency, will have no ecclesiastick court at all, but one presbytery for all the congregations within its bounds. I cannot tell you our daily perplexities; yet we must trust in God, and not faint, for all the vexation which passes from far and near on all hands.

Our army, of 14,000 foot and 2000 horse at least, are joined with Fairfax his 2000 horse and 4000 of foot: they are about York on all quarters near the town. Before they came so near, Newcastle sent out all his horse, who are followed by all ours; but it is thought we will let them be gone. The design is suspected to go towards Shrewsbury to join with Prince Rupert, that all may come together to relieve the siege; but this we do no much regard. Albeit Manchester, with good 8000 or 9000, is in Lincoln to wait on these. But our greatest difficulty is want. No penny have we got since we came to England, except it have been a fortnight's pay at most. The country gives no victual; our discipline hinders the taking of it. The soldiers cloaths are worn; their extremity is great. Sundry think it was not well advised, that they staid not till they had taken Durham and Newcastle; yet we hope all shall turn to the best. Argyle, I hope, by this has gotten order of Huntly, and Callendar of Montrose; so I hope both shortly shall come to Newcastle as they purpose, and clear the north of England; while Leily, after York is gotten, may go over Trent. My Lord Wariston is gone to Scotland with the articles of peace, whereto the committee of both kingdoms hath unanimously agreed, and transmitted them to the Houses. I am in haste. The Lord help us, and be with you.



55. To Mr Robert Ramsay. May 9. 1644.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I have got none from you since February 11. I saw a short one of Mr David's, without date, before you went to the provincial. Since that, I think, he has sundry from me long enough. You may see our affairs in the papers. The most is true, and all are the common reports here. The inside of our affairs, experience of God's carrying of this cause from the beginning to this day, and ever coming in with his seen and immediate help, make us that we dare not but be confident of a happy issue; but were it not for our hope in God, we oft would be put to black thoughts, when we behold the carriage and dispositions of men. This people are so divided, and subdivided, in their judgements and practice, that if ever either their church or state settle, it is God's miraculous mercy. Had not God raised our nation to join with all our strength, long ere this, without all doubt, they had been swallowed up by their enemies; yea, they had, without the hand of an enemy, by their own broken and languid proceedings, been lost irrecoverably; and as yet it stands, the dangers are exceeding great.

For our assembly-matters, we are daily perplexed; not only we make no progress, and are far from the sight of any appearance of an end, but also matters oft in hazard of miscarriage. The Independents, so far as yet we can see, are peremptory for a schism; and their party is very strong and growing, especially in the army. The leading men in the assembly are much at this time divided about the questions in hand, of the power of congregations and synods. Some of them would give nothing to congregations, denying peremptorily all example, precept, or reason, for a congregational eldership; others, and many more, are wilful to give to congregational eldership all and entire power of ordination, excommunication, and all. Had not God sent Mr Henderson, Mr Rutherford, and Mr Gillespie among them, I see not that ever they could agree on any settled government. We expect the favour of God to help us over the rocks, and through the storms, in the midst whereof we sail at this hour. The answer and return of your prayers we oft feel and



acknowledge. All our company, blessed be God, have had perfect health, good courage, and hearty unanimity, in all things; great credit and reputation; sensible assistance in every thing, and hitherto very good success, to all our motions, either for church or state; so that we are hopeful to wrestle through the present difficulties, as we have done many before, by the help of the prayers of God's people among you. The humour of this people is very various, and inclinable to singularities, to differ from all the world, and one from another, and shortly from themselves. No people had so much need of a presbytery. The affairs of the state, marvel not that I and others write oft so diversely of them; for there are many contrary and divers tides into them. We are still feared that the King come, and set himself down in the parliament. If he had done so this twelvemonth bygone, or yet would, it would put our affairs in the greatest hazard of confusion. To cross that dangerous design of the mighty faction among us, the engine of the articles of peace is turned on the face of the authors, to our great advantage. We have got such articles passed the committee of both kingdoms, and transmitted to both Houses, as Wariston has brought down. They are of our own framing. Nine of the greatest are consented to by the Commons, and the rest will shortly pass, I trust. Yesterday the whole House went to the Lords for a conference, and required the passing of three ordinances, which long had lien by. 1. The continuance of the committee of both kingdoms for other three months. That committee is the great bulwark against the faction. The first framing of it was over their heads. It has been their greatest eye-sore. It expires the morn. They thought either to hinder the renewing of the ordinance, or to add unto it such other members of both Houses, of their mind, as might have overswayed the better party and us; but we hope this union of the Commons will counteract that plot. 2. The continuance of Manchester's ordinance for other three months; that Manchester should have so many counties under him. It was the faction's grief; it made him a greater and better paid army than the General's. It and Waller's army were their great strength, if any treachery had been used by any others; for unhappy, and, I hope, ungrounded jealousies here, trouble all. However, it was the design of some to have Manchester and Waller's ordinance altered. The 3d was, for



for the excluding of these from the Houses that returned from Oxford. Sundry of them are here already, as Holland, Bedford, Clare, Kingston, Trennant, and Conway; and many more are coming. It was feared their errand was not good. To prevent the danger of their counsels, the Commons press they may not be readmitted to their places in haste. An answer this day is expected from the Lords. The General one of these days will march out. He and Waller joined will have greater forces than any the King can oppose in these bounds. The Queen is at Exeter, very big. It is feared she slip over to France. The wars of Italy are certainly ended. The treaty of Munster at last is begun. Sundry think, that either a peace, or a truce, is like to be taken between France and Spain. If this be, our condition is in a horrible hazard, if quickly we come not to an end of our business. Manchester, with a pretty good army, of 8000 or 9000, has taken Lincoln by force, and so could not hinder the plunder of it. We have straitly beleagured York. On the event of that siege, the affairs both of this church and kingdom doth much depend. To-morrow there will be shipped L. 20,000 Sterling for our army, and the next week L. 16,000 for Ireland; and more at once will follow. We trust God will arise, and do somewhat by our Scots army. We are afflicted, that after so long time we have gotten no hit of our enemy; we hope God will put away that shame. Waller, Manchester, Fairfax, and all get victories; but Lesly, from whom all was expected, as yet has had his hands bound. God, we hope, will loose them, and send us matter of praise; but blessed be his name that we are in so good a posture, and the enemy in so bad, that without strokes we can overcome. It is best. I must end; for I am in haste. My service to all who mind the cause of God in hand, and to no other. These for yourself, Mr David, and Mr George Young.

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

56. *Memorandum to Mr Buchanan.*

I conceive it very expedient, that you write to some of the ministers of Paris, Geneva, and Bern, the true estate of our affairs, how that a mighty faction is arisen, to prefer





fer liberty of conscience for all sects, at least a freedom for Morellius's popular government of the church; that the Scots, and most of the synod and parliament, are for the establishing the government by synods and classes. It would encourage them much, if the divines of Geneva and Switzerland would, in their answers to the synod's letter, as the divines of Zealand have done in their letter, and the divines of Hesse also, exhort the synod at some length, and in earnest, to beware of that pernicious liberty of all sects, in particular those who are enemies to the discipline of all the Reformed. There is a golden occasion in hand, if improved, to get England conform in worship and government to the rest of the Reformed. If nothing dare be written in publick by the French, see if they will write their mind, for our encouragement, to any private friend here, or in Holland. You would write for the same purpose to Moulin in Sedan, and Spanheim in Leyden. It were good, if they write, that their letters were conceived in the greatest names they could procure; the theologie of Bern would get a letter from the Switzerland church, these of Geneva from their whole ecclesiastick classes, Moulin from the university of Sedan, and Spanheim from the university of Leyden. It were not ill, that in all their letters they congratulated the abolition of Episcopacy and Popish ceremonies, and exhorted to set up quickly the government of Christ; that so long an anarchy as has been here, is the mother of heresies, and schisms, and many more evils.

57. *To Mr William Spang.*

Dear Cousin,

I wrote not to you the last Friday; for what I wrote with your post the three Fridays preceeding, I know not yet whether you have received them; neither dare I write any more by the post, while I find you receive them unbroken up. I sent to you the Hooker you wrote for, and some other. The letter of your classes of Zealand, I fear it shall here be drained, as well as that of Wallachren, because the Independents, on the occasion of the clause of the magistrate, work, by their too many friends, on the parliament to suppress it. You would do well to cause print it there, and send over a number of copies of



of it here : you did so with your other letter the last year ; and the synod has caused print, in Latin and English, their letter to you ; who can justly offend, if you do so, with your letter in answer ? I approve exceedingly well of Apollonius's letter, to enquire of the Independents themselves their judgements in three heads he proposes. The two books which I have sent you last, will inform him more of their mind. Little D. Homes, the author of the Cool Conference, M. S. against A. S. is John Goodwin of Colman-street. He names you expressly, and professes to censure the letter of Zealand. He is a bitter enemy to presbytery, and is openly for a full liberty of conscience to all sects, even Turks, Jews, Papists, and all to be more openly tolerate than with you. This way is very pleasant to many here. We are much obliged to that excellent divine Apollonius. We trust he will, with all diligence, go on in his avowed intention : there is nothing wherein he can do better service to God and the Reformed churches. To understand them better, I send you herewith other two pieces. That faction increases mightily in number, hopes, and pride ; but if it please God to give us good news from York, we will tell them more of our mind. Our opinion of their piety and ingenuity is much diminished, by that we see and hear daily from the best of them. It is marvelled, that the rest of your provinces and professors will not follow the gracious and charitable example of Zealand. Shall they see both the church and state of all these three kingdoms perish, and stand aloof without the least assistance by the stretch of their pen, when they are called to it by our lamentable letters, and the gracious example of their compassionate brethren ? See how they will be answerable for such an apathy in so necessary a time. Mr Forbes, in Delft, has sent us over, in writ, a very pretty piece against the Apologetick. I like it very well, I wish it were in print. It is good you keep correspondence with that young man, and acquaint him with all you know in this subject. We and Fairfax, with 20,000 horse and foot, are lying about York. Manchester, with more than 8000, is in Lincoln. Prince Rupert, with all he can make, is drawing near Newark. It is expected shortly, that thereabout the fatal blow will be given. Essex and Waller are going out at last, they say, to-morrow, with 19,000 betwixt them. However, Prince Maurice, Ruthven, and Hopeton,



Hopeton, can make no power to withstand; yet we expect small action in these quarters. Montrose's foolish bravado is turned to nothing. The gentlemen of Teviotdale, before Callendar drew near with the army, chased him in to Carlisle, with the loss of most of his cannon. Huntly, with some 3000 men, run over the fields as far as Montrose; but we hope shortly it shall be otherwise. On Friday, after a week's debate, we carried, albeit hardly, that no single congregation had the power of ordination. Tomorrow we begin to debate if they have any right of excommunication. We gave in, long ago, a paper to the great committee, wherein we asserted a congregational eldership, for governing the private affairs of the congregation, from the 18th of Matthew. Mr David Calderwood, in his letter to us, has censured us grievously for so doing; shewing us, that our books of discipline admit of no presbytery or eldership but one; that we put ourselves in hazard to be forced to give excommunication, and so entire government, to congregations, which is a great step to Independency. Mr Henderson acknowledges this: and we are in a peck of troubles with it. In many things we had need of the prayers of our friends.

58. *Publick Letter. May 14. 1644.*

SINCE my last, the 9th of this instant, our affairs here go as you may see in the two inclosed diurnals, and business abroad as you may see in the paper. Yesternight Essex went out to his army; Waller will go to-morrow: they will be pretty strong. There is great fear at Oxford. Small hope of the relieving York, or saving any part of the north, from the hands of the Scots. Their hopes in force are near an end; they have therefore returned to their old ways of treacherous plotting. A great word here of the King's coming hither, and putting all in the will of his parliament; being, as is feared, confident of the one house, and a great part of the other, and of many in the city. This now is our greatest fear; and care, to provide for it: we hope the discovery shall prove the preventing of it. We expect daily the rendering of York. This day £. 20,000 Sterling is shipped for our army. We hope, before eight days end, to have near as much shipped for Carrickfergus. In our publick letter to the general



ral assembly, since we are commanded, all of us, to stay still, we shall give an account how the affairs of our synod go. The greatest things, both in church and state, are presently in hand. O if we had humbled hearts to deal earnestly with God, who hath granted us so much of our desires, and hath put us in so fair a way shortly to obtain all, albeit in so wise a dispensation as to mix our hopes with very great dangers, that he may still be fled to and depended on. We keep a fast in the assembly on Friday next, for all the armies, and the great affairs which in that synod are presently in hand. We hope our Father will hear and comfort us. The Queen is at Exeter; it is thought she can hardly be delivered; it is suspected she will go to France. Much of Wales is risen for the parliament. A few days may produce great things. We had much need, and confidently we expect the help of your prayers to our very great and difficult employment. All our company, blessed be God, are in health and chearfulness, feeling sensibly, in God's continual assistance, the answer of your prayers.

59. *Postscript to Mr Spang's Letter. May 17.*

While I had written thus far, yours of the 3d of May comes to my hand, so I will venture to send this yet by the post. Apollonius's letter and questions I had gotten before, by another secret means. I fear these men shall either not write, or delay too long, or write obscurely; for, as I conceive, they are not at a point, in their own mind, as yet, what to stand at. Among themselves are sundry differences, which time will bring out. They profess to differ from these of England; but who knows wherein? The main seems to be in liberty of conscience; for both seem to avow the divine right of synods for consulting, albeit the destroying of presbyteries classical; for a presbytery to them is our session, and our presbytery is their synod. Take herewith another of their apologies: it is old, nameless, and as yet I have not read it; only they in New England are more strict and rigid than we, or any church, to suppress, by the power of the magistrature, all who are not of their way, to banishment ordinarily, and presently even to death lately, or perpetual slavery; for one Jortin, sometime a famous citizen

VOL. II. C here,





here, for piety, having taught a number in New England to cast off the word and sacrament, and deny angels and devils, and teach a gross kind of union with Christ, in this life, by force of arms was brought to New Boston, and there, with ten of the chief of his followers, by the civil court was decreed perpetual slaves; but the votes of many were for their execution. They lie in irons, though gentlemen; and out of their prison write to the Admiral here, to deal with the parliament for their deliverance. The Independents here, finding they have not the magistrate so obsequious as in New England, turn their pens, as you will see in MS, to take from the magistrate all power of taking any coercive order with the vilest heretics. Not only they praise your magistrate, who for policy gives some secret tolerance to divers religions, wherein, as I conceive, your divines preach against them as great sinners; but avow, that by God's command, the magistrate is discharged to put the least discourtesy on any man, Jew, Turk, Papist, Socinian, or whatever, for his religion. I with Apollonius considered this well. The five he writes to will not say this; but M. S. is of as great authority here as any of them. Your course of engaging the other provinces is very good. I send this inclosed to a friend here, (vide p. 13.), who is well acquainted in Paris, Bern, Leyden, Sedan, and Geneva, who accordingly has written to all these five places for their assistance in the common cause. My correspondence with you is so secret as may be. Some of them suspect somewhat of you; but know little: however, they must be content that all the Reformed, whom they openly avow to oppugn, should declare what sense they have of their wounds and danger from them. I long for Morellius and Sadael, also if by Mr Paget, or any of your friends at Amsterdam, you could find any of the writs of Brown, the first sectary; for however I have used all possible diligence, yet cannot I find any of that man's writs here: they would, I conceive, be very useful to me. This day was the best that I have seen since I came to England. General Essex, when he went out, sent to the assembly, to intreat, that a day of fasting might be kept for him. We appoint, this day, four of our number to preach and pray at Christ's church; also, taking the occasion, we thought it meet to be humbled in the assembly, so we spent from nine to five very graciously. After D. Twisse had begun with



with a brief prayer, Mr Marshall prayed large two hours, most divinely, confessing the sins of the members of the assembly, in a wonderful, pathetick, and prudent way. After, Mr Arrowsmith preached an hour, then a psalm; thereafter Mr Vines prayed near two hours, and Mr Palmer preached an hour, and Mr Seaman prayed near two hours, then a psalm; after Mr Henderson brought them to a sweet conference of the heat confessed in the assembly, and other seen faults, to be remedied, and the conveniency to preach against all sects, especially Anabaptists and Antinomians. Dr Twissie closed with a short prayer and blessing. God was so evidently in all this exercise, that we expect certainly a blessing both in our matter of the assembly and whole kingdom. They have sallied out of York, once or twice; but are beaten in with loss. Callendar, with 8000 or 10,000, is lying about Carlisle. We have 4000 or 5000 about Newcastle. David Lesly, with the most of our Fairfax and Manchester's horse, are about Nottingham. We hear nothing of Prince Rupert. Waller is out with 3000 or 9000 men: Essex with ten. The King with his forces are near. You shall hear more with the next; the post can stay no longer. Farewell.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Our Admiral has taken a ship with L. 7000, and some thousand of arms, coming from you. No more notice here of your ambassadors. Our affairs here, blessed be God, are in an excellent posture every where. When we settle, your estates cannot hope to get any thanks. We might have perished, and they looked on us without any help. God will not be mocked.

60. *For Mr Robert Blair. May 19. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

THE condition of our affairs here you will see in our publick letters. This is only a postscript which I was desired to write to you. We are advertised, that much more than the most part of my Lord Manchester's army are seduced to Independency, and very many of them have added either Anabaptism or Antinomianism, or both. We hear that their horse and yours are conjoined, and that



occasions may fall out wherein more of them may join to you. We all conceive, that our silly simple lads are in great danger to be infected by their company; and if that pest enter in our army, we fear it may spread. We remember, that in our former expedition, on far less occasion than now is apparent, some of our soldiers were leavened, and at their return were the authors of trouble in divers parts of our land. We earnestly intreat you and Mr R. Douglas to advise of the most prudent and safe ways of preventing the danger of this evil; which we all apprehend to be very great, except God bless you our brethren there with wisdom and zeal to prevent the beginnings. Praying for the help of God to you in this particular, and all things else, I rest, Your loving brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

61. *To Mr William Spang. May 31. 1644.*

Cousin,

Yours of the 3d of May, and that inclosed, I received yesternight. The books I sent with Mr Garet, the young man with whom Thomas Cunningham lay, by whom I send all my letters. As for the synod's acceptance of your Zealand letter, I assure you, after it was read, Mr Calandrin was called in, and it was solemnly declared to him, by the prolocutor, how thankfully the assembly took it, and how much they were obliged for it. As for returning an answer, they have no power to write one line to any soul, but as the parliament directs; neither may they importune the parliament for warrants to keep foreign correspondence. With what art and diligence that general one to all the churches was gotten, I know. You know this is no proper assembly, but a meeting called by the parliament to advise them in what things they are asked; so their not answering comes on no neglect I know very well. By all means encourage Apollonius, and whomever else you can, to assist in this common cause: if this season be missed, it will be hardly recovered. The Independents have no considerable power either in the assembly or parliament, or the General or Waller's army; but in the city and country, and Manchester's army, their strength is great and growing; yet by the help of God and our friends, if once we had the assembly at an end, and

peace,



peace, we would get them quieted. Since our Friday fast we have made good speed in the assembly. Our church-fessions, to which Independents gave all, and their opposites nothing at all, we have got settled with unanimity in the Scots fashion. Our great debate, of the power of ex-communication, we have laid aside, and taken in at last the directory. Already we have past the draught of all the prayers, reading of scripture, and singing of psalms, on the Sabbath-day, *nemine contradicente*. We trust, in one or two sessions, to pass also our draught of preaching. If we continue this race, we will amend our former infamous slowness. Always I can say little till once we pass the directory of the Lord's supper. In the committee we found they were very stickling; the Independents, and all, love so well fundry of their English guises, which we must have away: however we are in hope of a better speed than before. We have not heard from Scotland these twenty days. Wariston is down to the parliament, for their confirmation of the articles of peace. The Oxfordian faction is now quieter here. I told you how it was prest to cite the King to a day for his comparance here; if that had been asked, he had appeared, as now we find. The next was to importune a draught of articles of peace, hoping about these to have divided us; but, God be thanked, we have made vantage of that plot also, and have agreed unanimously to such articles as we hope in the end to obtain. The last was, for the King to come to the parliament without any conditions; for this we were afraid, as exceedingly dangerous: but upon the first suspicion of the design, such courses were taken as made that plot to vanish also. At the expiring of the three months of the committee of both kingdoms, it was plotted that this committee should not be renewed, for it was the humour of the evil party, but that the General himself, with his very suspected counsellors, should manage the war; or if it should be renewed, they should be ordered so many, and so suspect persons, that it should be an engine against us. With this desire we were many days vexed. Let the House of Commons and the city do what they would, if all should have gone to fall, the House of Lords was peremptor. The committee they would not renew, without such alterations as made it ineffectual for its end: yet, by God's providence, a mean at last was found, which, nill they will they, forced them to renew it as it

was





was before. I have no time to write it. By the direction of this committee all is guided. Essex and Waller are joined: they have half-chased the King and his army from Reading to Wantage, from Wantage to Abingdon, from Abingdon to Oxford, from this to Islip and Woodstock. We trust shortly to hear of their defeat. Manchester has above 12,000 very well appointed men; quickly he regained all Lincolnshire, laid a bridge over the Trent, has joined with our army. We and Fairfax, with above 20,000 brave men, lie about York: finding it has more victual than we expected, we are preparing to storm it. It is strong in works, has above 6000 armed men, and plenty of ammunition: their confidence is in Prince Rupert's succours. He is an ubiquitary; he holds both York and Oxford in full expectation of his coming daily: yet where he is, and what are his forces, no man can certainly tell. He has been long about Chester, waiting for the performance of the promise of 15,000 Irish. The King has granted them peace, oblivion for bygones, liberty of conscience, and all they desire for time to come. This horrible grant cannot but provoke God and man's indignation. We are grieved to hear nothing of Callendar. Montrose ravages at his pleasure in all Northumberland and Bishoprick: we hope it shall not be so long. I doubt if your book be Sadael against Morellius: I think it is a writ before that debate was heard of. Your translating of your Dutch notes is a purpose myself and many more here do passionately desire. Diodati, I conceive, is not so good; yet it sells excellently. The stationers here would doubtless cause translate and print your Dutch notes, but they delay for their own gain. They have, on the press, large English notes by some divines. While that impression be sold, that cannot come out this twelvemonth, they will not meddle with the other; but we look for little good from these English notes. The authors were set on by Episcopal men; neither are they of such abilities or disposition as that work would require. If you can find a means to get these Dutch notes printed in English, it would, as I conceive, be a work exceeding profitable; but of this more hereafter. Will neither Rivet nor Voetius follow the example of brave Apollonius? Do your best in this. If men will forsake themselves and us, we will be the more obliged to God. All Glasgow quarrels are to my joy



joy settled by Mr George Young's coming to them. Farewell.

62. *Publick Letter. June 7. 1644.*

WE are much rejoiced to hear, that our malignant countrymen, both in the north and south, are so easily compeeced. It is the Lord that watches over that blessed land: a blessed land indeed, if compared with others. The miseries of England you may see in the inclosed print, and these of Denmark and Germany in the writ. Civil war wracks Spain, and lately wracked Italy. It is coming by appearance shortly upon France. The just Lord, who beholds with patience the wickedness of nations, at last arises in fury; great is his mercy unto sinful Scotland. We trust God will send peace to this land by the ruin of the malignant party. Both the Spanish and French juntu's are glad now to change the Oxford dialect, and speak to the Houses at Westminster as a true parliament. On Monday at night the King broke up, with all his horse, and so many of his foot, as he could mount, and, with all speed, made first as it were to Worcester, but thereafter turned towards Bristol. Essex and Waller are on his back: he will not be able to keep the fields. Very like, before he can come to Bristol, the small army he has will be routed. The only considerable force he has is with Prince Rupert in Lancashire, where great and barbarous cruelties are committed. We hope before this a course is taken with that insolent man; for Meldrum in Manchester will be 4000 or 5000. Denbigh can bring him 3000 or 4000; and the armies now about York may spare 10,000 for that service, and keep good 18,000 behind. If God be pleased to bless, there are men enow to break that wicked faction shortly in pieces; yet it is in God alone that we will put our trust. We hope his gracious Majesty will so much the more be pleased to look upon us, as no remorse at all appears in our enemies; but horrible cruelty, rapine, and uncleanness, rages among them as much as ever. Their only trust is in the Irish butchers and Spain. France has given them over, and will be glad, if we please, to join with us. The Swedes have sent agents for a strict league with us. The Irish butchers have gotten peace, and all they desire. The Protestant commissioners from Ireland came all hither yesternight from Oxford. For the encouragement



encouragement of our Irish army, there is gone away in coin L. 20,000 Sterling, and as much will be gotten for them ere it be long. We long much for Callendar's coming to Newcastle; doubtless the parliament here will take burden of his army also.

Our progress in the assembly, albeit slow, yet, blessed be God, is sensible daily. We have passed, but after a world of debate, all the directory which concerns ordinary prayers, reading of the word, singing of psalms, and preaching. Our toil is exceeding great; every day, from eight in the morning till near one, and oft in the afternoon from three to half past six, we are in exercise; only the Saturday free, and that for our Sunday's preaching, when single times any of us does vaik. All of us long much to be at home; but we are all commanded to stay, and attend this great service. Of a truth, to our power, we put spurs to their slow sides. We hope all, ere it be long, shall go according to our hearts desire. The Independents, our great retarders, it is like, shall not vaunt themselves in the end of their oppositions. The most of their party are fallen off to Anabaptism, Antinomianism, and Socinianism; the rest are divided among themselves. One Mr Williams has drawn a great number after him to a singular Independency, denying any true church in the world, and will have every man to serve God by himself alone, without any church at all. This man has made a great and bitter schism lately among the Independents. We hope, if once we had peace, by God's help, with the spirit of meekness mixed with a little justice, to get the most of these erroneous spirits reduced. The ministers of London, near six score, have their weekly meetings. They are all Presbyterians, except Burton, said to be a Brownist; John Goodwin to be a Socinian, and one scrupling Pedobaptism. Some of the Independents are lecturers, but none settled ministers. We had much need of the prayers of God's people there; by that help a very glorious work here may be hastened. All our company are in good health. Oft our spirits are overwearied; but God always by new favours refreshes us. No man here to speak a word either for bishops, or liturgy, or any ceremony. We are thinking of a new work over sea, if this church were settled. The times of Antichrist's fall are approaching. The very outward providence of God seems to be disposing France, Spain, Italy, and Germany, for the



the receiving of the gospel. When the curtains of the Lord's tabernacle are thus far, and much farther, enlarged, by the means which yet appear not, how shall our mouth be filled with laughter, our tongue with praise, and our hearts with rejoicing! My hearty service to all friends on whose spirit any piece of the burden of this great work doth lie. These on whose heart there lies no weight but of this world, I pity more, but regard less. The French General in Catalonia, after he had supplied the garrison of Lerida, would needs set upon the Spanish army that lay near by. The fruit of this rash and needless enterprise was the total rout of the French army, the strict beleaguering of Lerida, the great hopes of dinging the French out of all Catalonia. Yet the French are using all diligence to make up their loss. The Marshal of Turenne could not get his army made so strong as to relieve the siege of Uberlingen; so at last the Bavarian General Merci has gotten it, and come down nearer Brisack, to besiege other places in Alsatia. The great design of the French is on Gravelling, a sea-port betwixt Calais and Dunkirk. Many doubt of the event of that siege. Sundry rumours of bad designs in Monsieur's counsellors to trouble the state. The Protestants are in dool for Mr Colligni Chatillon his eldest son's untimely death. The pity is, that his other only son Andelot revolted the other year to Popery; yet they speak now of some hopes of his return to the Protestant religion.

63. *To Mr William Spang. June 9. 1644.*

Cousin,

I wrote not with Friday's post. I have got no answer from you of what I wrote before. Lest this bearer should come to you with nothing from me, you have here what I sent the other day to our friends in Scotland. I can add little to it. Upon Tuesday at night, Waller, without order, followed the King. What is become of either party, as yet we know not, which is strange. General Essex was pleased to sit still, and after so long delay to send a small party of horse to make a fashion of pursuing. When he found Waller with all his forces was gone, he sent word to the Houses he would go for the relief of Lyme. This was not well taken; for it was to enter into the heart of





Waller's associations, and really to subvert his army. The Admiral, and the bravery of that poor garrison of Lyme, I hope will have resolved that question; for the other week, on our solemn fast-day, that unhappy prince, Maurice, having assaulted with confidence of carrying of that small town, was beaten off with so huge a slaughter, that they are in no more fear of him. We hear the Admiral has taken three ships, which were carrying from you to Exeter L. 45,000 Sterling. If it be so, it is a good prize. Manchester, with all his forces, have lien down before York. On Wednesday last they drew near the walls. They within put all the suburbs in a fire. We were favoured by the wind to quench it. We are now within pistol-shot of the walls, and are making ready to storm it; for they have much more victuals within than was thought. It cannot but be a bloody business. Prince Rupert rages in Lancashire; it is thought he will make a great army before he come to York. If God help us to take York, and defeat him, the business is ended in England. Send me Morellius, if you can get him. I have got Brown at last. Forbes is on the press. Hold Apollonius on. The Independents have set up a number of private congregations in the city. They are exceeding busy. We will have much to do with them. Edward's piece we expect the next week at farthest. Strange! that your divines of Holland will learn nothing from England. Do they sit still while we are a-dying! The calamity may shortly come over to them. Be assured, your state will follow the fortune of England. If the malignants prevail, all the force of this isle will be employed to put the Nassovian yoke on their neck, nill they will they; and if the democrattick anarchy vex our churches, ye are blind if ye see not that pest incumbent to you likewise. Paper bids me say adieu.

#### 64. *My Publick Letter.*

AFFAIRS here at this time stand thus. After the King broke up from before Oxford, Waller followed him beyond Worcester towards Shrewsbury, his foot being left in divers strengths by the way. Waller could not overtake him; only was careful he should not win to Prince Rupert, nor raise any new forces in these quarters. His Majesty finding this, turns about, and with all speed, with what



what he could carry, returns to Oxford. Waller is still at his heels: after some days rest at Oxford, having joined all he could make out of the neighbour garrisons, he got towards the associate counties. This puts us in some perplexity; yet we are informed this night, that Waller is at his back, and the counties have cast 10,000 well-armed men before his face; so that much harm cannot be done in these bounds. The General having gone of his own head, yea, contrary to the direction of the House of Commons and committee of both kingdoms, to the west, Maurice rose from Lyme. Weymouth rendered to us, and fair hopes were made of a short recovery of the whole west; but wise men do not look for much good from that airth. Prince Rupert, after the spoiling of Lancashire, and the great increase of his army there, has returned to Cheshire. We were once much afraid he should have gone to Scotland; but now that fear is past. Lest he should do harm where he is going, there is a gallant army now in pursuit of him. 10,000 from York, 6000 from Lancashire; Denbigh and others will join all the forces they have. In the mean time, these about York will be quiet. The storming of the town will cost much blood; and if Rupert's army were once off the fields, all hope of succour being cut off, it is hoped it will render. The Queen on Sunday last was delivered of a daughter. We are proceeding in our assembly. This day before noon we got sundry propositions of our directory for the sacrament of the Lord's supper passed; but in the afternoon we could not move one inch. The unhappy Independents would mangle that sacrament. No catechising nor preparation before; no thanksgiving after; no sacramental doctrine, or chapters, in the day of celebration; no coming up to any table, but a carrying of the elements to all in their seats athort the church: yet all this, with God's help, we have carried over their bellies to our practice. But exhortations at tables yet we stick at. They would have no words spoken at all. Nye would be at covering the head at the receiving. We must dispute every inch of our ground. Great need had we of the prayers of all God's people. We rejoiced at the peaceable conclusion of our general assembly. By the printed papers you have the common reports here; and by the writ which comes weekly from Brussels to my good friend Sir Robert Anstruther, you may see how things go over-sea.



## 65. For Mr Robert Ramsay. The end of June.

I will continue still to write unto you, though none of yours has come since that of February 11. Where Mr David is, I do not know: if he be in town, let this serve you both. We have here many ups and downs, great security and luxury in the city, and over all the land where the sword rages not, which makes us afraid of further judgements than yet have appeared. We see very little zeal or mind in the parliament for the house of God. We are on occasion telling them, that this neglect is a great cause of the continuance of the war; but for no purpose: the most of the people who are counted religious, are running to ways of error and schism of many divers kinds. The avowed disobedience of the General, and his going the clean contrary way to his orders, what it may produce we do not know. No great appearance of getting York in haste. The foolish rashness of Major Crawford, and his great vanity to assault his alone the breach made by his mine, without the acquainting Lesly or Fairfax with it, and the killing of so great a number of his men, also the sending away from the siege so great a party to follow Prince Rupert, will force us to look on these walls till hunger makes them fall, whereof as yet we hear not much. The delay of Callendar's incoming so long has given time to the Marquis of Montrose to make havock of the northern counties, which will make the siege of Newcastle the harder; and without Newcastle, this city will hardly put off this winter. Very many of the assembly are departed for want of means. The allowance granted by the parliament is not paid. What we gave in concerning ordination yet lies still, and, by the underhand dealing of the Independents, is like to come out from the House so mangled, that if we get it not helped, it will much offend us both for the matter and the preparative, it being the first paper came from us to the Houses. Very many things that come to be handled in the assembly are new to us all, and obscure. We have to do with very many scrupulous and thraward wiis. Whether we had need of prayers, or not, you may judge. We have overcome many difficulties; our God has extricated us out of very many labyrinths; we are confident therefore, by the assistance of  
God's



God's people there, to see a glorious work ended in these dominions, and begun elsewhere, ere it be long. The fear of this makes the devil and his instruments so busy in their malicious opposition.

66. To Mr William Spang. June 28.

Cousin,

YOUR last, June 1st, and your former, wherein was a part of Rivet's letters, I received the other week. I write none, being diverted with business; for here we have very little spare time. You have here what was written to our friends of Glasgow, and more privately to a special one B. What Mr Buchanan, at my desire, wrote to Paris, produced a letter from Mons. Drelincourt, with the advice of the whole consistory there, which had been printed, had I not stayed it by this paper: we have sent it to have it rectified according to my motion. What Moulin wrote from Sedan, is more to the purpose, and our mind, though we expected least from that man. Spanheim, I see by his answer, is not disposed to write at this time, except the university would lay it upon him. Certainly Mr Rivet is very ill informed. As I am an honest man, I never heard man, privately or publickly, speak either of his person, or any of his writs, but with honour: if he or any there will give ear to all that is written from London at this time, they will wrong themselves. That of burning his, or any divine's book over-sea, is a malignant calumny. We cannot but regret, that both your statesmen and divines should see and hear us sweating to the blood, under these burdens which concern all the Reformed alike, while they will obstinately sit still as neutral. It is clear, many of your good simple people have no such mind. Their large contribution to the poor Irish, shew their affection that it should be distribute to the poor people there, as well as to the soldiers: I think it great reason, and for satisfaction in this point, letters are gone already from the committee of both kingdoms, and more will go shortly upon this your motion. But I hope your people will not exclude the soldiers of the Scots army altogether from their liberality: for I know it, there live not any more poor than the most of them, being kept together without one penny of pay for twenty-two months.

Something





Something is going from this for help, but within two months pay. Apollonius would do well to go on in his writing. What you speak of a voyage to Holland, would be good service to God and this church. For the over-  
swaying power of the Independents, you speak of, I know it to be a false fable; only this is true, that they and other sects, joined with the strange backwardness of the most of these here to do in time, what they must, and are willing also oft to do, may be very dangerous, and calls for all the help can be obtained from our neighbours. We are vexed to the heart very often with these unkent and unexpected ways of some or other here. Yesterday my stomach was full of them, and this day more. I had need of patience, and not only of wisdom and courage. Not long ago, while I am visiting my good friend Mr Rous, I find the favour from him of that which then I suspected, and now have found, a dangerous design. After very great labour, we gave in, as our first fruits, a paper for ordination to both Houses. Oft had they called for it before it came. When it had lien in their hands neglected for many weeks, at last it was committed to a few of the Commons to make a report to the House about it. We hear furnishes, that this committee had altered much of our paper; but I finding by Mr Rous, the chief of that committee, that the alterations were both more and greater than we suspected, and that the committee had closed their report, and were ready to make it to the House, without any further meeting. I persuaded him it would be convenient before the report was made, and either Houses engaged in any thing which was against the mind of the assembly, and of our nation, to confer privately with some of us anent these alterations. Upon this he obtained an order of the House for the committee to call for any of the assembly they pleased. This he brought to the assembly, and called out Marthal and me to tell us his purpose. We gave him our best advice. On his motion the assembly named Marthal, Vines, Burges, Tuckney, and the scribes, to wait on; and withal requested us to be with them. Great strife and clamour was made to have Mr Goodwin joined; but he was refused by a vote. Marthal came not. At meeting we found, they had passed by all the whole doctrinal part of ordination, and all our scriptural grounds for it; that they had choien only the extraordinary way of ordination,  
and



and in that very part had scraped out whatever might displease the Independents, or patrons, or Selden and others, who will have no discipline at all in any church *jure divino*, but settled only upon the free will and pleasure of the parliament. Mr Henderson, and the rest, reasoned against the dangerousness and disgrace of this their way, so clearly, that sundry of the gentlemen repented of their alterations; yet the most took all to advisement. We, in private, resolved we would, by all means, stick to our paper; else, this being the first, if we yielded to these most prejudicial alterations, which the Independents and Civilians underhand had wrought, the assembly's reputation was clean overthrown, and Erastus's way would triumph. What will be the end of this debate, God knows. If the assembly could stand to their deed, we hope to have the parliament reasonable; for they will be loth to lose the assembly and us, for the pleasure of any other party. But we fear the fainting of many of our House: this holds our mind in suspense; only we are glad we have taken the matter before it came to the House. This day we were vexed also in the assembly: we thought we had passed with consent, sitting at the table; but behold Mr Nye, Mr Goodwin, and Bridges, cast all in the hows, denying to us the necessity of any table, but pressing the communicating of all in their seats, without coming up to a table. Messrs Henderson, Rutherford, and Gillespie, all three disputed exceeding well for it, with arguments unanswerable; yet not one of the English did join with us, only Mr Assessor Burges, who then was in the chair, beginning to speak somewhat for us, but a little too vehemently, was so met with by the Independents, that a shameful and long clamour ended their debate. This has grieved us, that we fear the end of our work, always we expect it shall be better. Prince Rupert is not gone south, but north towards Cumberland. I pray God save Callendar's army and Scotland from his bloody mouth. York seems to be so provided, that in haste it cannot be taken, neither can we spare any more from the siege, the garrison within is so strong, and our works so large. The Commons have written a sharp letter to the General, for his disobedience to the committee of both kingdoms. His army is not great, and we fear shall do little good in the west. The King is stronger than we expected, and is falling on the associations. Things go here every other week  
wonderful



wonderful variously; yet by God's help, all will be well; and your ambassadors in the end will not be commended for their bad offices they have, as is said, done us. If your Prince will needs, without the parliament, make a second marriage with our King, it is feared it may hasten the ruin of both families, which might be prevented if God would but touch the heart of your Prince to go another way to work. Had he and your states joined with our parliament their counsels, it might have saved all. While they side with the King, and make your people neutrals, they do what in haste will not be forgotten. I must break off here. My service to your wife, and Thomas Cunningham my good friend. Farewell.

The King is about Bedford, as they say, with near 8000 men. Waller is near him. Some think that they will fight; others that the King is wheeled about again towards Oxford, and will wait for his Irish succours. If your Prince had the wisdom and moderation I wish, it seems, with all mens blessings, he might attain all his ends both in England and Holland quickly, for the great benefit of all; but as he is like to proceed, he will miss his design, and lose all.

67. *To Mr William Spang. July 5. 1644.*

Cousin,

WITH the last post, you had from me, at length, how things went here. Since, we have been in great perplexity; but God the Lord, within this hour, has begun to shine. The General, in the west, was doing little, and as little is expected from him. The King had given an alarm to Bedfordshire, and all the associate counties; Waller had skirmished with him at Banbury, lost eight cannon, and had gotten some rub: but that which concerned the heart of the affairs, the unhappiness of our countryman Major Crawford's precipitation, in his springing a mine by himself, and assaulting his alone, and loss upon it, had so discouraged all the rest of the army, that they could not be brought to storm any more. Very many of our Scots soldiers were fallen sick; and, to bring our dangers to the top, Prince Rupert, above all mens expectations, had brought over the hills of Lancashire, a very strong army, both in horse and foot, 8000  
horse



horse at least, and 10,000 of foot; these were marching directly to York. Within, it is thought, were 6000 good soldiers, very many gentlemen and officers. When we heard that ours had raised the siege, we were much afflicted, both with the disgrace and great danger of the persons of our brethren, if they fought with that greater power, and danger to the cause if they fought not; for the most thought, since Prince Rupert had got his point, and raised the siege, he would presently retire, and with his great army go ravage in the adjacent counties, where Manchester durst not fall on him, nor Waller meet him; York at once would be revictualled; the Marquis of Newcastle and Gen. King, being at liberty, would quickly gather an army and straiten us. As for the assembly, these three weeks, Mr Nye, and his good friend Mr Herle, has kept us on one point of our directory alone, the recommending of the communicants coming up to the table to communicate. Their way of communicating, of some at the table, and some about it, without any succession of companies to more tables, is that whereon we stick, and are like to stick longer. Also the great appearance of the parliament's misleading, by a few, to change the papers we gave in to them, so that nothing shall be established on any scripture or divine right, did much afflict us. But behold, in a moment, when our credit was beginning sensibly to decay, God has come in. Our army has fought Prince Rupert, has overthrown his forces, taken his cannon and baggage, killed many of his chief officers, and chased the rest into York. You have here the copy of my Lord Fairfax's letter to the mayor of Hull, which is seconded with two or three other letters to the Speaker of the House of Commons. Major Brown has joined to Waller a pretty army. The King has run away again, with his horse only, northward. Waller is following as he may. The General writes, that the Queen has left Exeter, and is going to Pendennis castle. I pray God save poor Hamilton from her malice. The gentry of the west are coming fast in. This people, yesterday and to-day, were much discouraged, and fainting; but this night are triumphing. We dare not be too much exalted, only we bless God from our heart, who is beginning to shine on our army, and make it, after very long expectation, and beating down of our pride, to be a fountain of joy and hope to these who love the welfare of religion. We





hope things in the assembly and parliament may go more after our mind. Our army oft signified to us, they conceived their want of success flowed most from God's anger at the parliament and assembly, for their neglect of establishing of religion. We oft told them the truth, that we had no hope of any progress here, till God gave them victories; and then, we doubted not, all would run both in parliament and assembly. You have here, for you and Mr Forbes, a dozen of the Anatomies, and two or three of the answers: let him answer that poor piece if he please: also receive a late piece of Cotton's. Edwards's book is expected within two or three days; it is excresced to near forty sheets. Dr Stuart is not yet on the press. I think my Lord has written to Mr Strickland and Mr Cunningham, anent the Irish money, and will write also to you. I am too long in your debt. I pray you write me what I am resting you; also send me over Bechmaire against the Socinians, and River's Critick, last edition, and his *Institutio Principis*; also if his Catholick, last edition, at Geneva, be yet come out, and his first piece against Grotius's Annotations on Cassander: I have the posterior. I shall send over to you by exchange what I am resting for all. The classes of Amsterdam have written kind letters to our assembly, and recommended conformity with Scotland. Hold on Apollonius. I wish Voetius engaged. The Lord be with you.

68. For Mr William Spang. July 12. 1644.

Dear Cousin,

By yours, June 5th and 15th, I see you had not got what I had written largely with the two last posts. I hope, before this, you have all. I did assure you of the great falsehood of the informations which came to Dr Rivet. I wish again and again, that Apollonius and Voetius were moved to write. They must not expect that this assembly, or any member of it, will desire them to do so: it is far above their power; and if they essayed it, they would soon be taken up by the parliament. Yet we are doing what we can to get leave to answer, with great respect, all your letters, both of Walachien, Zealand, and Amsterdam. That engagement you write, of the parliament with Spain, against the French and you, I give you full assurance of my



my certain knowledge it was never intended. True, the Spanish ambassador made such a motion to the committee of both kingdoms, which they transmitted to the Houses, and a priest caused print a paper, of the great hurt would come to England, if the sea-coasts of Flanders should fall to the French; but that any living soul here ever dreamed to intermeddle with the siege of Graveling, it is as false as the other informations, which your ambassadors have come over to coin, and vend them overseas to our prejudice: but thanks to God, and grace, mercy good Scot, that these men are like now in a sudden to change their note. On Friday, the certain news of Prince Rupert's routing came here. On Saturday the Dutch ambassadors pressed for audience from both houses of parliament, in as ample a form as either the Spanish ambassador or Imperial agent had used. We expect no good from their trifling propositions. There is no friendly word, so far as I can hear, come out of any of their mouths since their arrival; but it is generally thought here, that their designs have been wholly for the advancement of the malignant party. No man doubts but, in spite of the devil, Britain and Holland must join heart in hand for their common necessities; but for the courtiers of Oxford and Hague, it is very like, if they go on still in their wicked ways, they may be taken both for common enemies. Concerning Thomas Cunningham, I wish by all means you and he may keep entire correspondence, otherwise I foresee it cannot fail to fall out to both your great displeasures. He is taken here, and at home, for a very honest man, and one who is diligent, and very cordial, to his utmost ability, for the common cause. You will not believe what scarcity there is of men whom we dare trust with such a matter. Never a minister was taxed by a committee, but many of us, in this time of great need, got on our credit, some 500, some 1000 merks, to lend to the publick; which will be returned, with the interest, according to condition, or else all will go to all. It is my earnest advice to you, to keep fast with that man. I send you, herewith, two printed sheets of the passage of the battle. God was merciful to us. We were in a sad condition: Prince Rupert had done a glorious piece of service: from nothing, had gathered, without money, a powerful army, and in spite of all our three Generals, had made us leave York, after a long



siege. But the blood of Bolton would not let him rest, till all the glory he had got was lost in an hour: against the mind of Newcastle and General King, and all his council of war, he would fight, and pursue our army; where in half an hour he lost all. The Independents sent up one quickly, to assure, that all the glory of that night was theirs; that they, and their Major-General, Cromwell, had done it all their alone: but Captain Stuart afterward showed the vanity and falsehood of their disgraceful relation. God gave us that victory wonderfully. There were three generals on each side, Lesly, Fairfax, and Manchester; Rupert, Newcastle, and King. Within half an hour and less, all six took them to their heels; this to you alone. The disadvantage of the ground, and violence of the flower of Prince Rupert's horse, carried all our right wing down; only Eglinton kept ground there to his great loss; his lieutenant-crowner, a brave man, I fear shall die, and his son Robert be mutilated of an arm. Lindsay had the greatest hazard of any; but the beginning of the victory was from David Lesly, who before was much suspected of evil designs: he, with the Scots, and Cromwell's horse, having the advantage of the ground, did dissipate all before them. For a while no quarter was given. Lieutenant-General Baillie and Lumsden had the greatest burden of the conduct of all. Scarce one hour did the fight last till an entire victory was gotten. Never such armies, this hundred years, met in England, large 50,000 men on the field. I pray God we make good use of this. We have a solemn thanksgiving on Thursday next. You may see what Lieutenant-General Baillie writes to me. We expect daily to hear of the delivery of York. The design is to leave Newcastle to Calendar, and to march south with their victorious army, if York were yielded.

In our assembly we go on as we may. The Independents and others kept us long three weeks upon one point alone, the communicating at a table. By this we came to debate, the divers coming up of companies successively to a table; the consecrating of the bread and wine severally; the giving of the bread to all the congregation, and then the wine to all, and so twice coming up to the table, first for the bread, and then for the wine; the mutual distribution, the table-exhortations, and a world of such questions, which to the most of them were new and strange things. After we were overtoiled with debate, we were forced



forced to leave all these things, and take us to general expressions, which, by a benign exposition, would infer our church-practices, which the most promised to follow, so much the more as we did not necessitate them by the assembly's express determination. We have ended the matter of the Lord's supper, and these last three days have been upon baptism. We have carried, with much greater ease than we expected, the publickness of baptism. The abuse was great over all this land. In the greatest parish of London, scarce one child in a-year was brought to the church for baptism. Also we have carried the parent's presenting of his child, and not their midwives, as was their universal custom. In our last debate with the committee of Commons, for our paper of ordination, we were in the midst, over head and ears, of that greatest of our questions, the power of the parliament in ecclesiastick affairs. It is like this question shall be hotter here than any where else: but we mind to hold off; for yet it is very unreasonable. As yet we are come to no issue what to do with that paper. This day your ambassadors had audience to their compliment in both Houses. For answer, they will be remitted to the committee of both kingdoms, and there they must stand till they fetch over letters of credence, as well for Scotland as England: but spending of time is their aim, to see the event of affairs before they engage. If Apollonius, or any other, write at all, it were good it were done quickly; for the chief use, either of their authority or arguments, will be shortly at that nick of time when the Independents give up their reasons against us to the parliament. The chief point we wish were proven, is the real authority, power, and jurisdiction of synods and classical presbyteries over any the members, or the whole, of a particular congregation; also the right of ordinary professors to the sacraments, though they can give no certain or satisfactory signs of real regeneration. These two are the main heads; also I wish the power of presbyteries classical, to ordain and excommunicate, were cleared. Many besides the Independents, by Voetius's writs, are brought to give the rights of both these actions to the congregational presbytery, much against our mind and practice. The churches of Jerusalem, Corinth, and the rest of the apostolick churches mentioned in the New Testament, which can be proven to have practised either ordination or excommunication, appear to us to have been classical, consisting





sisting of more congregations than one, and of greater numbers; when they did exercise either of these acts, than could meet in one place. Also it is a great question about the power of jurisdiction in a congregation. We are not against the people's power of election of the officers, or, at least, free consent thereto; but beside, they press all process and acts of censures to be done, if not in the name and authority, as the Brownists, and those of New England, yet necessarily in the presence, and with the consent, not only of the presbytery congregational, but also of the whole people, even every communicant male. If in these we were agreed, I think the difficulty would be small in any other matter.

69. For Lieutenant-General Baillie. London, Tuesday, July 16. 1644.

Right Honourable,

I give hearty thanks to God for his work on the 2d of July, and to you for your true account of it. We hope that blessed day shall be the crisis of our affairs, which then were in so dangerous a condition. Had Prince Rupert been prosperous that day in his fight, or passed by without fighting, we all conceive affairs should have been desperate. God, who in mercy to his people, who long have been waiting upon him, gave to you that most glorious victory, we trust, will give you wisdom and courage to make use of it. On Thursday next, in all our churches, we are to praise God for that unspeakable favour, and, as we hear, the King has directed to do the like in Oxford on Friday. We are longing to hear news of York. This people here will never end any business either in church or state; all that honour is reserved for you. Waller has been running up and down with the King for little purpose. His London and associate foot are all home; so the King, with his horse and foot, are stronger than he, and are drawing towards Bristol. It is feared that, being joined with Maurice and Hopeton, he may distress the General. The Holland ambassadors have been heard in both Houses. The only delay of a treaty is on the upcoming of our commissioners, with the articles sent down to our parliament. No good is expected of that treaty. You must give a second blow to that faction before it be in a posture



posture to receive such a peace as is necessary.—So I rest,  
your cousin to serve you,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

70. For Captain Porterfield. July 16. 1644.

Dear Cousin,

I long to hear what became of you and your company on that perilous, but glorious, 2d of July. As yet I can hear nothing of you, though I have heard enough of many others, and of some much more than I desired. I pray God you be all well. Mr John Dickson came here yesterday night. He told me, your wife, and all friends in Glasgow, were in health some ten days before. Let me hear what you have deburied for my soldier, that I may send it to you with many thanks. Blessed be the name of God for evermore, that strengthened your arms that night. Had our God deserted but one hour, it had been the blackest news that ever Britain got since it was inhabited; but now, blessed be his name, we hope the back of their pernicious faction is broken. One other sound blow will beat out its brains. All things, both here and in Edinburgh, both in church and state, would quickly have miscarried, had not that blessed day holden all right, and kept many a wicked design within breast which was ready to have broken out. The Lord send you York and Newcastle. Till then all things sticks. Many a perplexed night have we of it. If our neighbours at Edinburgh tasted the sauce wherein we dip our venison at London, their teeth would not water so fast to be here as some of them do. Our hope is in the Lord, that he who has done so glorious things for us, will not give us over to the will of the most unreasonable and wicked men that ever were born. Mr Maxwell of Ross has printed at Oxford so desperately malicious an invective against our assemblies and presbyteries, that, however I could hardly consent to the hanging of Canterbury himself, or of any Jesuit, yet I could give my sentence freely against that unhappy liar's life. It is good he is no better to our parliaments than to our assemblies; for in his other pamphlet, *Sacrosancta Regia Majestas*, he lays them absolutely under the feet of a king's mere pleasure, were he the greatest tyrant that ever was. If God go on a little with you, such flattering serpents, incendiaries,



cendiaries, and overthrowers both of kings, parliaments, and churches, will be gotten charmed. Blessing God again and again for his mercies to us all in you, I rest, your loving friend to serve you,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

71. To Mr Robert Blair. London, July 16.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I think it for little purpose to write oft to you, since I know that Samuel writes largely at all occasions. Blessed be God for evermore, that has looked down upon us all in that glorious 2d of July. By that that I see here, and hear from Edinburgh, our affairs, both of church and state, both here and in Scotland, were in such a posture, that if you in that day had miscarried, whatever we have been building up these bygone years, in less than a month was like to have been overturned, to the unspeakable woe and wrack of all the godly in both kingdoms; but honour and glory to his name, who has established our tottering estate by that day's mercy. However shame hath fallen on particular men, when they turned their backs, who were most obliged, and most expected to have stood still; yet it was well, since God was glorified, and you are victorious in so full and splendid an overthrow of all your enemies. We were both grieved and angry, that your Independents there should have sent up Major Harrison to trumpet over all the city their own praises, to our prejudice, making all believe, that Cromwell alone, with his unspeakably valorous regiments, had done all that service; that the most of us fled; and who staid, fought so and so, as it might be. We were much vexed with these reports, against which you were not pleased, any of you, to instruct us with any answer, till Lindsay's letters came at last, and Captain Stewart with his colours. Then we sent abroad our printed relations, and could lift up our face. But within three days Mr Ash's relation was also printed, who gives us many good words, but gives much more to Cromwell than we are informed is his due. Let good Mr Ash know what is the use that generally here is made of his relations; much I know beside his intention; even this in plain terms, the Independents have done so brave service, yea, they are so strong and considerable a party, that they must



not only be tolerated, but in nothing grieved, and no ways to be provoked. It seems very necessary, that since none of you of purpose, and ordinarily, send up relations, and Mr Ash sends to the press constant intelligence of your actions, which, for the man's known integrity, are every word believed, your proceedings have a great influence here both of church and state; I say, it seems needful that all Mr Ash's letters which are sent hither to the press, should be first seen and pondered by some of you there. These are my own private motions, which I propone to you alone, to be made use of as you think fit. I bless God, who graciously saved your life in that so dangerous an hour. Glory to his name. Farewell.

See by this inclosed, if the whole victory, both in the right and left wing, be not ascribed to Cromwell, and not a word of David Lesly, who in all places that day was his leader. If his reports of Manchester be true, you know the flight of some is worse and more shameful than death.

72. For my Lord Eglinton. July 18. 1644.

My very good Lord,

AFTER the reports of your great battle, hearing, for all our victory, that the whole right wing, wherein your Lordship was, to be routed, I was for some days in perplexity and fear, doubting much what was your Lordship's condition; but after Captain Stuart came up, and also your Lordship's large letter to Sir John Seaton, I was much comforted, and blessed God, who had saved your life, and of your brave son Robert, from the greatest and most apparent danger that ever you had seen. Blessed be God again and again, who did protect you, and brought you out of the jaws of death, and that with so great honour, when so many with cowardice fell in disgrace, worse than death. This day we have been giving to God publick praise for that day's unspeakable mercy. If God had not been with you at that hour, if you there had been broken, we all conceive our welfare in this world had been overthrown with you; our religion, our liberties, our children, our persons, our estates, our posterity, had all been put in the cruel mercy of that wicked faction. Great is your honour and happiness, whom God made the instruments to conserve to all this life all that is dear to





them. We are hearing also, that the town is rendered to you without blood, another very great favour. O! if we were thankful to God for all these great mercies. I long to hear of the cure of Robert's wounds; also of Lieutenant Montgomery, that brave and gallant gentleman. I have sent herewith to your Lordship three weeks of the gazettes of Paris; for many I have oft received from your Lordship. I wish in any thing of the world I were able to do your Lordship, or any of yours, pleasure; by God's grace, while I live, I shall be very willing, as I am straitly obliged to serve your Lordship, and all yours. Praying God to be present with your Lordship in all your noble enterprises, I rest, your Lordship's, ever to be commanded,  
ROBERT BAILLIE.

All affairs here, both of church and state, of war and peace, are much hindered by the too long and unexpected delay of the coming up of our commissioners from Scotland.

73. *To Mr David Dickson. July 23. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

NOR knowing where you were from April till the time of your son's coming hither, I directed my letters to Mr Robert. You have in my publick letter and papers the outside of our affairs; but the inside of the thoughts of many here is this. Our difficulties in all our affairs, both of church and state, are great and many, as they have ever been, from the beginning till this day; yet the Lord has carried us through hitherto. If his good hand continued not with us, we see no possibility of any tolerable issue. Our progress in the assembly is small; there is so much matter yet before us, as we cannot win through for a long time after our common pace. Our Independents continue and increase in their obitnacy. Much is added to their pride and hope by their service at the battle of York; albeit much of their valour is grounded on very false lies, prejudicial to God, the author, and to us, the true instruments, of that day's honour. The politick part in the parliament is the stronger, who are resolute to conclude nothing in the matters of religion that may grieve the sectaries, whom they count necessary for the time. Our  
army



army is much diminished in number and reputation. Also here Callendar's army is called very small, and no ways able to reduce Newcastle. The letters we have, both from the committee and presbytery at York, are much for a safe peace; which we wish from our heart; but think their proposing of it is from the conscience of their present weakness. We fear the extraordinary long stay of our commissioners be from new factions and divisions among yourselves. If the King should get any real vantage against Essex, it would much change affairs here. This is an irresolute, divided, and dangerously-humoured people. We long much to see them settled, and our nation honestly rid of them. We suspect the Queen may work us much mischief in France. The articles of peace, which are concluded here, and, as we hear, with you also, are such as we think the King will never accept; and if we should begin to treat with him on the alteration of any of them, it will draw both to a great length, and a dangerous losing of our ground. The sectaries of divers sorts, Anabaptists chiefly, increase here. Very many are for a total liberty of all religions, and write very plausible treatises for that end. Sundry of the Independents are stepped out of the church, and follow my good acquaintance Mr Roger Williams; who says, there is no church, no sacraments, no pastors, no church-officers or ordinance in the world, nor has been since a few years after the apostles. If our commissioners were once come up, we mind to put them a little harder to it, and see what they understand by their uniformity, which they have sworn to us. We can make no certain conclusion, but that we believe God will work his own gracious ends by man's weakness. One week we have fair appearance to get all things quickly done according to our mind, another week such alteration in affairs, that nothing less can be hoped for. These vicissitudes of hopes and despair, when we look to the earth, are very frequent. If we had no need of your prayers, yourself judge. Communicate this to Mr Robert, and Mr George, if he be with you. I shall have a care to speak with Mr Jo. and cause Mr Alexander and Mr Samuel speak him in the purpose ye wrote of. It would be very sweet to me to be at home, and serving in my charge; but as yet no appearance of loosening for any of us. We are upholden by God's presence with us, giving us all health, grace, love, and concord, and in all occasions opening the mouths of my col-



leagues to speak what is convenient. Thanks be to God, that in nothing hitherto have we been a shame to our church and country. The things you desired to be helped in our church, will all fall out according to your mind; but I may not enter into particulars till all be finished. They put us always in hopes, if the malignant faction were brought down, and our army well advanced, then quickly all should be settled, with small regard to the sectaries, whom now they dare not offend, at least not put them to despair.

How our affairs go here, you may see in the four inclosed papers printed; and foreign affairs you may see in the written one. I can add little thereto. Our assembly being wearied with sitting since the beginning of July was a-year, without any intermission, was earnest for a little relaxation; so fourteen days were obtained from the Houses, of vacation. We sit not till Wednesday, August 7th. Some of us were earnest to delay that vacation till we had closed the directory of baptism, which was near an end, and till the Houses did return to us their sense of our paper of ordination, whereupon they had spent already some time; but the dog-days and fasting-week coming on, and the particular affairs of divers our members admitted of no delay. As yet there is nothing concluded anent the disposition of the army at York; but Humble being now come up to us for that end, I think quickly they will be all disposed on for our best advantage. My Lord Humble told us, that the Governor of York shewed him, that he was going out to bury the old Bishop of Glasgow at the very time when word came to him of the fight; so he behaved, with the most with him, to leave the corpse to be put in the earth by some few poor men. The Bishop had nothing for his burial but as the Governor furnished. The judgements of God are to be observed and adored. Jacobus, as Humble says, was killed long before at Bandouner. The army is at Doncaster, willing to follow Prince Rupert whithersoever he goes, if so they be furnished with necessities for the march. General Essex is betwixt Exeter and Plymouth. The King is towards him. When Maurice and Hopeton are joined, they will be many more men than we. To help this, Waller is to send a great party of horse and dragoons to Essex. The Queen from Falmouth was carried by ten ships of the Hollanders to Brest in Bretagne. What she may work against us at the court of France, many



ny doubt. Dr Mayern would make us believe, that her days cannot be many. The French and States ambassadors are urging a treaty, wherein we suspect deceit, and a continuance of their old arts; but nothing can be said to that point till our commissioners come from Scotland. We have been expecting them every week these two months. Their delay is exceeding prejudicial to all our affairs here, both of church and state. The victory at York, so far as we are informed, appears to us more and more miraculous. We cannot praise God enough for it. It was exceeding great, and exceeding seasonable, if all the truth were known. By the assistance of your prayers, we trust to obtain from God a happy conclusion of the whole work in his due time. All our company, praised be God, are in good health.

74. For Glasgow. August 7. 1644.

The estate of affairs here, since my last, you may see in these printed papers, and of affairs abroad, in the inclosed writ. I can add little hereunto. This day we sit down in our assembly, after our vacance. The House of Commons have past the paper of ordination unanimously, with some alterations, which are to be considered by us. The right settling of that business will be a great step to advance our affairs. The little interruption we have had in our sitting, make both ourselves, the Houses, and the city, and all the world, to call on us for dispatch; and it seems God, disposing of all affairs, is making for our furtherance; so we hope for a farther progress quickly, than for a long time bygone we have made. We are afflicted with the delay of our commissioners upcoming. We know not what you are doing in Scotland. No man here has seen one line from Scotland since the 26th of June, which is a foolishness inexcusable. The publick suffers by the carelessness of some. By letters intercepted from Ireland, we here of Antrim's landing in Argyle, with 2500 men at most. We trust they shall not do much hurt, but that God, who has defended hitherto our land, shall deliver these idolatrous butchers to our swords. There is a great expectation here from Inchiquin, and the rest of the Protestant Irish in the south, who are risen for the parliament. This accident, if it please God, may do  
much





much good. Essex's army is in good case, praised be God, in Cornwall. The King, Maurice, and Hopeton, and all they can make, are upon his back, but are weaker than to fight. The most of Waller's horse are gone with our brave countryman, Major-General Middleton, to wait on the King's rear. Prince Rupert has divided the remnant of his beaten army. Himself, with the foot he can get, are towards Shrewsbury; and Manchester is to attend him. The most of his horse, with Clavering, Glenham, and Montrose, are towards Westmoreland: so our whole army, after refreshment at Leeds and Wakefield, by the hearty and unanimous advice of all the English committee, is sent north; for there is nothing worthy of their stay either in Yorkshire or Lancashire. Fairfax has the reducing of these castles committed to him. Newcastle is the only design of importance. We pray God deliver it in our hands. We are glad to hear of the recovery of our sick and wounded men, and that our army is so full of cheerfulness. Much money is coming from the sale of the prime malignants lands. God is still very gracious to us. We feared the effects of the Queen's going to France; but our fears now are diminished. The King's affairs at the court of France are taken for desperate, and not to be meddled with; so much the less, as the Queen and her faction are conceived to be Spanish, and upon the design to trouble the affairs of France. But the evidence of God's care for us, is in that great fire that is quickly like to fill all France for our great advantage. The Duke of Orleans will not come to the court, but sends sundry articles to the Queen, which will overturn the Cardinal and all her counsels, if they be granted; and, if not, he has a victorious army wherewith he will command. This might be the beginning of a great commotion, if the lightness of the French spirit hindered not all men from building any thing on their motions. Lerida is taken at last by the Spaniard. Since Anguien and Touraine are joined, a bloody battle is expected about Friburg, betwixt the French and the Bavarians. That old fox Urban is at last gone to his place; yet the devil his father cannot die, and will never want a son to be the Pope's successor. At our sitting down this day, a great many of our brethren did complain of the great increase and insolency in divers places of the Antinomian and Anabaptistical conventicles. A committee was appointed for a remedy of  
this



this evil, to be represented quickly to the parliament. Mr Edwards has written a splendid confutation of all the Independents apology. All the ministers of London, at least more than 100 of them, have agreed to erect a weekly lecture for him in Christ's Church, in the heart of the city, where he may handle these questions, and nothing else, before all that will come to hear. We hope God will provide remedies for that evil of Independency, the mother and true fountain of the church's distractions here.

75. *For Mr William Spang. August 10. 1644.*

Dear Cousin,

I wrote none to you the last post, for it was our vacance, and we were abroad; neither, I think, the two posts before, waiting while I heard you had received what I had written with the three former: and when your's came, I find that you had only then received my last, July 12th; but not the two former. Of this enquire the cause. I sent you long ago Mr Edwards's book. Dr Stuart has a call to Leyden, so he intends not to put his reply to the press till he be going hence, lest he should be retarded with a new answer. As for our affairs, thus they stand. The parliament goes on after their old way, slowly in all things. The trust is in the Commons alone. They have a world of affairs in hand. They must do by a member since Pym died. Not a state-head amongst them. Many very good and able spirits, but not any of so great and comprehensive a brain, as to manage the multitude of so weighty affairs as lies on them. If God did not sit at their helm, for any good guiding of theirs, long ere this they had been gone. Callendar, with above 5000 foot and horse, came over Tyne about the 20th of July, got Hartlepole and Stockton on the Tyse the 24th, went thereafter to Newcastle, took in Gateside, and barricaded the bridge-port. The army in York, after having sent up my Lord Humby hither for direction, were advised by the English committee to go back to Newcastle, the taking of it being judged the most necessary service; for the few castles in Yorkshire were not worth their labour. Also Fairfax was esteemed able enough for their reduction. Prince Rupert had sent the most of his horse, with  
Clavering



Clavering and Montrose, northward; and the few broken troops he retained with him were distribute about Chester, where he purposes to lie till men and ammunition come to him from Ireland. However, Manchester was directed to wait on his wings. We were the more willing to be sent north, because of Callendar's danger from Montrose, also to be near Scotland, if any need were. Our parliament, before the excise and loan-money could be established, spent too much time; also much debate and secret working was about the commissioners to be sent hither. If men knew the vexation we have here, they would not be so earnest for the employment as we hear many have been. Always at last the better party prevailed, to get the Chancellor, Argyle, and Balmerino named for the Lords; Wariston, Sir Charles Areskine, and Mr George Dundas, for the gentry; Sir John Smith, Mr Robert Barclay, and Hugh Kennedy, for the burrows. Their chief business will be about the articles for pacification. We expected their return, at farthest, against the midst of June, and yet they are not come; only Wariston is said to be on his way with them: however we have been much called for them, yet in my mind they shall not be of great use when they come, for so long as the King is able to keep up any face of an army, there is small hope he will ever hear of them. Our longsome parliament was hastened to an adjournment, by the sudden and unexpected invasion of Kintyre, by Coll, Mr Gillespie's sons, who, with 2500 runagates from Ireland, are loppen over there. Argyle is gone to wait on their service. I trust God will make them repent of their voyage. The chief action and expectation is now in the west. Essex, after his journey through all the west, for little purpose, has cast himself into Cornwall, as far as Foy near Falmouth. The King, with all he can make, is at his back. Many various opinions are here. Many think his voyage, as against his orders, so it was contrived by his bad counsellors, for no good end. Waller's army is destroyed thereby. No considerable place in the west has been so much as attempted. The King might easily have been hindered to have come to such a strength, and yet the General's army is much the better. Always many doubt the event. A fast is appointed for God's help to that army, on Tuesday next. If God make all honest, we doubt not of a success. The first day after our vac-



cance, a number of complaints were given in against the Anabaptists and Antinomians huge increase and intolerable insolencies. Notwithstanding of Mr Nye's and others opposition, it was carried that the assembly should remonstrate it to the parliament. Both Houses took our complaint well, has sent for the chief of the seditious sectaries, and promises a quick remeid to that great and dangerous evil. A kind letter from the synod of Holland to us was read. We have ended our directory for baptism. Thomas Goodwin one day was exceedingly confounded. He has undertaken a publick lecture against the Anabaptists: it was said, under pretence of refuting them, he betrayed our cause to them. That of the Corinthians, our chief ground for baptism of infants, "Your children are holy," he expounded of a real holiness, and preached down our ordinary and necessary distinction of real and federal holiness. Being posed hereupon, he could no ways clear himself; and no man took his part. God permits these gracious men to be many ways unhappy instruments. As yet their pride continues; but we are hopeful the parliament will not own their way so much as to tolerate it, if once they found themselves masters. For the time they are loth to cast them off, and to put their party to despair, lest they desert them. The men are exceeding active in their own way. They strive to advance Cromwell for their head. They ascribe to him the victory of York; but most unjustly: for Humble assures us, that Prince Rupert's first charge falling on him, did humble him so, that if David Lesly had not supported them, he had fled. Skeldon Crawford, who had a regiment of dragoons in that wing, upon his oath assured me, that at the beginning of the fight, Cromwell got a little wound on the neck, which made him retire, so that he was not so much as present at the service; but his troopers were led on by David Lesly. The sectaries books press most in an universal liberty for all religions. If Apollonius, Voetius, or any other, intend to assist us, let them not delay. Try what answer the Independents have given to Apollonius. In my judgement they neither will nor can declare themselves in the half of his interrogatories. Concerning the Irish money, our commissioners long ago wrote at length to Thomas Cunningham and Strickland. I must bid you farewell. Answer my former letter.





76. For James Mitchell. August 13. 1644.

James,

THAT since I came here I never heard from you but once, I was marvelling what could be the cause, till John Dick did tell me your condition; but now my heart does much pity your great affliction. I have lost, with you, a youth whom much I loved. I cannot blame you to be thoroughly pained with so deep a stroke. In a sudden, he ripened more than ordinary, and above my expectation. I trust, long before this, the Lord has cured the wound of his own hand. The certain felicity of that glorious soul will not suffer you to mourn above measure, for his going home some hours before you. I am sure his eyes are closed from much woe, sin, labour, and danger, which was before him. He is the fourth of my scholars, excellent youths, whom God has translated, before our desires, in that spot of ground, Sir Henry, Mr John Bell, Mr Alexander Cunningham. We had much hopes of great service from them all; but the Lord will find instruments of all the comforts he intends for us, and these fair blossoming plants will bring forth better and more fruit, when they stand in that good soil above, where the fountain of life continually waters their roots, and that glorious sun of righteousness shines in the full strength of all his beams upon them, night and day, summer and winter alike. God has left unto you divers gracious children, a favour denied to many, which ye would not undervalue. The publick is like to go well; many wonderful and desperate hazards it has put through, and we are confident there are glorious days of the gospel at hand. What a glorious mercy was that at York! how near was our army, and so all our worldly strength and hope, to shame, discredit, and very ruin! Since, we were in great fears for Essex's army, in the west; but now, as you may see in my publick letter, we are almost freed of these troubles. At these times, when the very being, not the welfare alone, of all the churches of these dominions, are in hazard, we must not let our minds be drowned in private afflictions. When the Lord shall triumph over that wicked party, which yet is full of strength and hopes, publick griefs shall be swallowed up in publick joys; and if that party should get up the head,



head, children would be the greatest burden and grief to all honest minds. Always when Christ and Antichrist are wrestling together, our eyes must be more upon this great and publick combat, than any thing within our doors. I trust that God, who has brought you through many and great troubles, will comfort you in this present and very great one. Praying for it, I rest,

Your Compassionate Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

77. *Publick Letter.* August 18. 1644.

SINCE my last, our affairs here had this progress. We have gone through, in the assembly, the whole directory for baptism, except some little things referred to a committee, also the whole directory for solemn thanksgiving, with a good unanimity. So soon as my Lord Wariston came up, we resolved on the occasion of his instructings, and the letters of our general assembly, both to ourselves and to this assembly, which he brought to quicken a little, who had great need of spurs.

Lord Wariston very particularly declared in the assembly the passionate desires of our parliament, assembly, army, and whole people, of the performance of the covenanted uniformity; and withal we called for a meeting of the grand committee of Lords, Commons, Assembly, and us; to whom we gave a paper, notably well penned by Mr Henderson, bearing the great evils of so long a delay of settling religion, and our earnest desires that some ways might be found out for expedition. This paper my Lord Sey took to deliver to the House of Lords, Mr Solicitor also for the House of Commons, and a third copy was given to Mr Marshall, to be presented to the assembly. On Tuesday last there was a solemn fast for General Essex's army. Mr Palmer and Mr Hill preached that day to the assembly, two of the most Scottish and free sermons that ever I heard any where. The way here of all preachers, even the best, has been, to speak before the parliament with so profound a reverence as truly took all edge from their exhortations, and made all applications toothless and adulatorious. That style is much changed of late: however, these two good men laid well about them, and charged publick and parliamentary sins strictly on the backs of the



guilty; amongst the rest, their neglect to settle religion according to the covenant, and to set up ordination, which lay so long in their hands. This was a means to make the House of Commons send us down that long delayed paper of ordination. On Thursday it was twice publickly read, so much altered from our paper, that all of us did much dislike it. To encourage the assembly to reject it, we did add in the end of our paper an express disavowing of it; and at the committee's desire, we set down our reasons in writ against the House's alterations; which did so encourage the assembly, that this day, unanimously, they sent a committee to the House, to crave leave to consider their alterations; for without their express order they have not so much power as to debate a question. This leave is granted: we are confident of reason, seconded by more plain and stout dealing than hitherto has been used, to make them take up their unreasonable alterations of our first paper; also we have the grand committee to meet on Monday, to find out ways of expedience; and we have got it to be the work of the assembly itself, to do no other thing till they have found out ways of accelerating; so by God's help we expect a far quicker progress than hitherto. The long looked-for propositions of peace, which my Lord Warilston brought down to our parliament, are now past the committee of both kingdoms unanimously, with all the additions our parliament put to them; also this day they are transmitted to the House of Commons, and from thence it is expected they will quickly go to the Lords, that so they may be sent to the King. If he will accept them, our troubles will shortly be ended; if he reject them, they will be published, that the world may see which party refuses, and which has been misguiding ignorant people with the shew of the desire of peace. There is not, so far as we can hear, any change in the mind of the malignant faction. Maxwell, our excommunicate incendiary, is one of the chief preachers at court, and before the King. The King's declaration to foreign churches, avows his resolution to stand by the hierarchy and liturgy. It will be no otherwise till that wicked faction, which still misleads him, be broken in pieces. Prince Palatine is landed this day. He has no design here but to live, which elsewhere he cannot do. We were afraid of the General's army in the west, and so we had reason; for great mutterings there has been



been of correspondence betwixt the chief officers of that army with the King; but thanks to God, that is now broken, and this we have as the first answer of our Tuesday's prayers. On Thursday the General sent up to the House a letter written to him, all with the King's hand, and subscribed, the most flattering and tempting of any thing ever I saw, offering to Essex and all his officers, and all his friends, what they could desire, if they would concur with him, to make the parliament accept of a just and equitable peace. The sending up of this letter is a demonstration of Essex's honesty, and will put off him all calumnies which long has burdened him. His army and the King's have been within a mile of each other for some days. There has been some strokes lately for our advantage. Inchiquin's brother has delivered Warham to Middleton, which we take for a good advantage; but most because it is a clear evidence, that a party is arisen for us in Munster above all our thoughts. After the taking of the town, with fifteen pieces of cannon, and fifty barrels of powder, Middleton went on to Somersetshire, and at his first coming routed 1000 of the enemy's horse, and took the most of their officers. The House of Commons, on Saturday, has past all the propositions of peace, as they came from our parliament, without the least alteration; also, on the reading of our paper, they recalled, by vote, four of their chief alterations of the assembly's paper of ordination. We hope we shall move them to recal the rest also.

There is a great stir in Rome upon the victory of Naples. The Dukes of Florence and Parma sent their armies thither to have the election of the new Pope every one to their own mind. The nephews of the last Pope have barricaded the town, and filled it with their own army. The Cardinals refuse to enter the conclave till the town be void of soldiers. Lerida in Catalonia, and Freyburg in Alsatia, after long sieges, and many sharp assaults, were both about one time lost to the French: but, by a strange providence, they have regained the one; Duc de Anguien coming up with his army, and joining with the Marshal of Turenne, with a great slaughter of the Bavarians; and in a few days got back Freyburg in the poor terms of discretion. Gallis, with the Imperial army, is joined with the Bishop of Bremen and the Danes. They lay near to Torstenson in Holstein. The Swedish and Danish fleets,  
after





after a hot fight, are making for a new onset. Great blood is feared shall be shortly shed there, both by sea and land. The anger of the Lord against all Christendom is great; and yet little humiliation of heart any where. In our assembly we cannot but quickly come to our greatest questions, and our hottest debates; also the propositions of peace, as we have drawn them, will be shortly sent to the King. All who love the common cause, and would be glad to see the church reformed, and the peace of the kingdoms settled, would be diligent now, if ever, to stir up their spirits to deal with the God of peace and truth, that he would so over-rule the hearts of our opposites, that both church and state, in all these dominions, may be relieved from the grievous calamities and dangers which this day presses very sore. I believe there is nothing wanting to the quick and happy ending of our troubles, but the diligence of the godly to wrestle with their Father for that very desirable blessing. Expecting the assistance of your prayers to God, both for the great work in hand, and the weak sinful persons who are employed about it, I rest, your servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Sir William Waller, this week, with all the rest of his forces, will follow Lieutenant Middleton, that they may gather up the King's rear, while Essex is dealing with his van. We wish both may become happy instruments to move his Majesty to pass these propositions of peace which both parliaments have found to be necessary.

78. *Publick Letter. August 28. 1644.*

How our affairs go, you may see in the three printed papers; and foreign affairs you may read in the inclosed writ. Our assembly these days bygone has been busy on the House of Commons their alterations of our paper of ordination; at last they have agreed to send back our desires for changing the most of these alterations, according to the papers which we gave in to the assembly and both Houses. Concerning these alterations, we expect, without farther ado, the Houses will pass our desires; so that presently all the youths in England, who for many years have waited for a pure ordination, shall be admitted to churches:



churches: and when all these, and what moe Scotland can afford of good youths for the ministry here, are provided, it is thought some thousands of churches must wait for want of men. Our next work is, to give our advice what to do for suppressing of Anabaptists, Antinomians, and other sectaries. This will be a hard work; yet so much as concerns us will be quickly dispatched, I hope in one session. It is appointed thereafter that we return to the government, and to hold to it till we conclude the erection of sessions, presbyteries, and synods. The most of the directory is passed, and the rest is given to proper hands to prepare the models for the assembly. All the world are sensible of our necessitated delays, and cry for expedition. All of us long much to be at home; but the daily unexpected difficulties, and the necessitated length of our affairs, are incredible to any who is not on the place. What prayers to God, and diligence with men, can do, we are in our weakness essaying, and, praise to God, with sensible fruit. The affairs of the state are in no worse posture than before. In all our churches, on Sunday last, we prayed for Monro's hard condition. We were informed, that the greatest army which ever the Irish had on foot was come down upon him to root all our people out of Ulster; but this day we hear he has beat them. We pray God it may be true. Inchiquin in Munster goes on for us. Prince Rupert lies still quiet in Chester. He gets no men from Ireland, and has no munition. In Lancashire, Meldrum has taken Preston, and is master of the fields. The forces which Clavering had about Carlisle are making towards him, and Manchester is sending supplies to him. The condition of Newcastle you know better than we. The King and Essex are yet looking the one upon the other. Middleton has ranged all these western fields for good purpose. Waller is away to join with him. We expect good news from that airth. The tumults at Rome are composed; the Cardinals are entered the conclave for the choosing another fury to trouble the world. Prince Thomas has an army for France in Milan, besieging little towns for small purpose. The French in Catalonia, to regain their credit in the loss of Lerida, are besieging Tarragon. What was believed at Paris, and here, of the retaking of Freyburg, is false. Duc de Anguienne and Turenne, with their gallant army, are down the Rhine as far as Philipsburg, which they are like to besiege. The Bava-

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rian army is following them. Gallas is now very near to 'Torstenfon in Holstein, and the two fleets are looking upon each other at sea. Great strokes are there feared. The Transylvanians have broken through Poland towards Silesia, and Coningsmark is going up to join there with them. The Duke of Saxony lies in his way. The Prince of Orange is battering Sas de Ghent; but the enemy has opened the sluices, and drowned much land about it. The French army at Graveling vex the Spaniards with a number of strong forts, which they are building in these parts of Flanders. It is thought Don Melos the Governor, a Portuguese, favours too much the French designs. The Duke of Orleans is gone to Paris; the Cardinal flatters him much. It is thought they cannot long agree. Palatine is not yet come hither, but is daily expected. Both we here, and all the churches abroad, have much need of the prayers of all the godly there. My hearty service to all the brethren of the presbytery of Glasgow and Irvine. I pray God bless every one of them in their service of Christ, and his people.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

79. *For Mr William Spang. September 13. 1644.*

Dear Cousin,

You see what I have written here to our friends in Scotland. We are for the time under a great and very black cloud. While Argyle is entangled with one company of Irish in his bounds, another company lands in Seaforth's bounds, who lets them pass in peace. Many by the way joined. Before they came to Strathern, Montrose came from England disguised, and is now on their head. Kilpont is gone to him, and Sir John Drummond. He took, as is thought, with their own good will, Inchmartin and Grandtully. Elcho, with the body of Fife, without officers or ministers, will rashly set on them, before Gask, now Tullibardine, and Drummond join. At the first stroke, sweet Reirus, and his brother, and more, were killed. The rest fled, and cast away some thousand arms, and left four pieces of cannon. A lamentable disaster! Montrose after fell on Perth. It abode the first assault. What next, we know not. Lothian and his regiment are to guard Stirling bridge. All the west and south-



South-east are running to Stirling. Argyle is marching, Callendar, Lindsay, Montgomery, Dalhousie, Lawers, are posting from Newcastle, with their regiments of horse and foot. Had this calamity befallen two months before, when Prince Rupert, with his 6000 horse, might easily fallen in on Edinburgh, and was so resolved, had not the King called him south on other fruitless employments, they, by appearance, had drawn all our forces out of England, and once put all Scotland in a hazard. But God is our watchman. This whip, I hope, shall do us good. All the armies here are pitifully filled with division. The General missed, would needs go to the west, in despite of his express orders to the contrary. This was to break, and did break Waller's army, and brought it to little or nothing. When he went there, it was for no service to run to the extreme end of Cornwall, and to lie there till the King gathered an army at his back, and belaid him on all sides, to be master of his victuals, and take up the passage betwixt him and Foy, his sea-port. The greatest pity is if any treachery was here. The authors of it will have power to do it again in this our next and only army on this side Newcastle; but it is hoped all will be honest; that Middlestone and Beir, Essex and Waller, Waller and Massie and Brown, Cromwell and Crawford, will lay down their great and known quarrels to join against the common enemy. Great scarcity of money for any thing; great clamour every where of injustice and rapine; church-divisions every where increase. The sectaries wax bolder daily; yet we are hopeful all shall quickly go better. It is time, I hope, for God to work, our extremity of danger is so great. If Apollonius stand on ceremonies, and wait for the authority of his classes, or stay till he clog his book with other treatises, *De magistratu*, as Callendrin was, his purpose will come out of season here, and will be for little purpose. One Mr Hoak is on the turning of your Dutch notes on the Bible. This day Cromwell has obtained an order of the House of Commons, to refer to the committee of both kingdoms the accommodation or toleration of the Independents; a high and unexpected order; yet, by God's help, we will make use of it contrary to the design of the procurers. We had need of your prayers in this hour of great darkness; since none of your help, nor any others else over sea, can be obtained. The unkindness of all the Reformed churches to us at these





times is great. It is England's merit, but may be the great sin of those who have no charity, nor so much zeal as prudence. The Lord be with you. The next, I hope, shall be more comfortable.

80. *Publick Letter. September 16. 1644.*

OUR affairs here, thanks to God, go better than lately. On Saturday last we went out to meet the Chancellor. He was welcomed by some appointed by both Houses. Two hours after his coming, that same night, we were much afflicted with the miscarriage of Essex's army in the west, and the disaster of the Five gentlemen in Scotland. Our recourse, in these griefs and fears, was to our God. On Thursday we had a solemn humiliation, wherein we trust the Lord did hear us, and already has comforted us in a good measure. Sir William Balfour, in the night, after the setting of the moon, broke through the enemy with all his horse, with no loss considerable. Essex, Roberts, and Merrick, had before gone by sea to Plymouth; Skippon had put his foot in good order about his cannon, resolving to die fighting, if good quarter was refused. Tolerable quarter was given, but not kept; yet there was no slaughter. Middleton's horse are now joined with the General's; also the foot, naked as they were, are come to them. Cloaths and arms are at them before this. Waller is also joined with them, and Manchester's whole army is marching fast towards them; so, by the blessing of God, that army will be stronger than ever, and that loss will do us much good, to humble us, and draw us nearer God, and unite our minds; for their divisions were shameful and many, and jealousies great, of many men, which this misaccident is like to cure. General Leven writes to us of his dissipating the enemy's forces in Cumberland, and good hopes to carry Newcastle in a short time; also of his sending up my Lord Callendar, with so many of his best horse and foot, as, with Argyle's forces on the rebels backs, and the country-forces on their face, with God's help, may bring these wicked men to their deserved end. When we heard of Lord Elcho's disaster, we were much perplexed: and above all things in the world we long for good news from Scotland. We hope these things will further our assembly; albeit we have made little progress these  
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fourteen days. We spent a number of sessions on some propositions of advice to the parliament, for suppressing Antinomians, Anabaptists, and these who preach a liberty for all religions. Even in these our good Independents found us great difficulty; and when we had carried our advices against their mind, they offered to give in contrare reasons to the parliament. We spent two or three days on the matter of a remonstrance to the parliament of the sins which provoked God to give us this late stroke; and here we had the most free and strange parliament that ever I heard, about the evident sins of the assembly, the sins of the parliament, the sins of the army, the sins of the people. When we were in full hope of a large fruit of so honest and faithful a censure, Thomas Goodwin and his brethren, as their custom is to oppose all things that are good, carried it so, that all was dung in the howes, and that matter clean laid by. We are again on the government. We have passed two or three propositions, that the church may be governed by three sorts of assemblies, congregational, classical, and synodical. We begin with synods, and hope to make quicker dispatch than before, by God's help. We have sundry means of haste in agitation with our private friends. One of our special helps must be the prayers of the godly there. This rage of the devil, both here and there, is a good sign to us of a glorious work in hand, which he so violently opposeth. The French make strange progress in Germany. They have, with great ease, taken that great strength of Philippsburg, and with it almost all the Nether Palatinate. Palsfeld, Lorrain, and Beck, have joined their forces with the Bavarian army, and great supplies also are come from France to the Weimarish. There may be a battle there. The Swedes and Imperialists are parted without any considerable cuff. The Holland fleet is joined, they say, with the Swedes against the Danes. Our good Queen is negotiating the marriage of her son with her brother the Duke of Orleans' daughter. She sold her daughter to the Prince of Orange for his money, and now would cast away her son for an army from France against us; but all will not do. The physicians speak of her impossibility to live long. By God's help we may make an end of this war before the French can be at leisure to engage.



81. For Mr David Dickson. September 16. 1644.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

How affairs go here you may see in my publick letters and printed papers: but beside all these, you may know more. At this time we are put to live by faith; for so far as we can reach with the eye of our sense, there is one of the thickest clouds above us that we have seen since the beginning of our affairs. Besides your troubles in Scotland, which we fear are very great, and the small hopes of carrying Newcastle in haste, we walk here very heavily. We can get no money. Very vast sums are mis-spent. No man will contribute any more willingly, and compulsoy ways brings not in what so many and great necessities as we have calls for. The dissolution of the General's army in the west, in itself is a huge loss both of strength and reputation: but the circumstances make it greater. These who affect the General, think it was procured by the parliament's willing neglect to send him timely supplies; others fear their treachery in running to such a place needlessly, and staying in it till they were circumvented, which a little providence might have eschewed. Our greatest fear is, that the forces we have to oppose the King are full of jealousies and malice one against another. The most of the officers in the General and Waller's army have open and known quarrels. Manchester's is more pitifully divided. It is like to divide us all incontinent. Manchester himself, a sweet meek man, permitted his Lieutenant-General Cromwell to guide all the army at his pleasure. The man is a very wise and active head, universally well beloved, as religious and stout; being a known Independent, the most of the soldiers who loved new ways put themselves under his command. Our countryman Crawford was made Major-General of that army. This man proving very stout and successful, got a great hand with Manchester, and with all the army that were not for sects. The other party finding their designs marred by him, set themselves by all means to have him out of the way, that he being removed, they might frame the whole army to their devotion, and draw Manchester himself to them by persuation, or else to weary him out of his charge, that Cromwell might be General. This has been the Inde-

pendents



pendents great plot by this army, to counterbalance us, and overawe the assembly and parliament both to their ends. At this nick of time, while their service is necessary to oppose the King, they give in a challenge against Crawford; they require a committee of war to remove him. Both the parties write up here to their friends the case. At last, Manchester, Cromwell, and Crawford, come up themselves. Our labour to reconcile them was vain. Cromwell was peremptor, notwithstanding the kingdom's evident hazard, and the evident displeasure of our nation; yet if Crawford were not cashiered, his Colonels would lay down their commissions. All of us, by my Lord Manchester's own testimony, and the testimony of the ministers in the army, find Crawford a very honest and valorous man, in nothing considerably guilty, only persecuted to make way to their designs on that army, and by it on the parliament and kingdom; therefore all here of our friends resolve to see him get as little wrong as we may. What the end of this may be, God knows. While Cromwell is here, the House of Commons, without the least advertisement to any of us, or of the assembly, passes an order, that the grand committee of both Houses, assembly, and us, shall consider of the means to unite us and the Independents; or, if that be found impossible, to see how they may be tolerated. This has much affected us. These men have retarded the assembly these long twelve months. This is the fruit of their disservice, to obtain really an act of parliament for their toleration, before we have got any thing for presbytery either in assembly or parliament. Our greatest friends, Sir Henry Vane and the Solicitor, are the main procurers of all this; and that without any regard to us, who have saved their nation, and brought these two persons to the height of the power now they enjoy, and use to our prejudice. We are on our ways, with God and men, to redress all these things as we may. We had much need of your prayers. This is a very fickle people; so wonderfully divided in all their armies, both their Houses of parliament, assembly, city, and country, that it is a miracle if they fall not into the mouth of the King. That party grows in strength and courage. The Queen is very like to get an army from France. The great shot of Cromwell and Vane is to have a liberty of all religions, without any exception. Many a time we are put to great trouble of mind. We must make  
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the best of an ill game we can. Marshall misleads us altogether: he is for a middle way of his own, and draws a faction in the synod to give ordination and excommunication to congregations, albeit dependently, in case of male-administration. God help us! If God be pleased to settle Scotland, and give us Newcastle, all will go well. We must see for new friends at last, when our old ones, without any the least cause, have deserted, and have half-betrayed us. These things to you alone, to stir up your prayers, by knowing our straits, and increasing your thanksgiving when you hear of the salvation of the Lord, which we do certainly expect. The Chancellor is here in a very needful time. Blessed be God, all our company are in good health and cheerful; trusting God, and resolving to do our duty with all the care and prudence God will enable us, be the success what it may, as truly we are hopeful it shall be very good. These things to you, and Mr Robert, and Mr George. I rest,

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

82. *Publick Letter. October.*

How affairs go here and elsewhere, since my last with Mr John Dickson, the six inclosed printed papers, and two in writ, may shew. We were here for some days under a cloud. The disasters lamentable in Scotland about St Johnston and Aberdeen, the prolongation of the siege of Newcastle, the scattering of Essex's army in the west, Sir Henry Vane, our most entire friend, joining with a new faction to procure liberty for sects; these, and sundry other misaccidents, did much afflict us for a fortnight. At that time we endeavoured to live by faith; but the goodness of our God has already begun to enlighten our darkness. If it were God's will to crush that wicked insurrection with you, as we hear, praise to God, these wicked men are not far from their ruin; and if Newcastle were taken, as we are informed it is like to be shortly; then all difficulties here, we hope, would easily be overcome. Thanks to God, things are in much better posture than lately. The Chancellor has done a great deal of noble service. The treachery in General Essex's army was like to be the fountain of great confusion,  
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but it will now do good: it will purge that army of all the dangerous knaves, and procure to Essex as much trust and more command than before, for which he may thank our Chancellor. It will reconcile him and Waller, it will compose the irreconcilable differences betwixt Cromwell and Crawford, in Manchester's army; all these are now joining in one, above 8000 horse and 12,000 of foot, well armed and old soldiers. The King has got nothing by his victory: he is with his army about Bristol, not much above 10,000 horse and foot, and no other army he has on foot in England. We hope this posture may draw out a peace, and move his Majesty to accept the propositions whereupon both kingdoms have agreed. In the assembly, thanks to God, we have throughed not only our presbyteries, but also our synods provincial and national, and the subordination of all the four meetings, parochial, classical, provincial, and national. We are now to dispute upon the power of all the four. We have strange tugging with the Independents. The House of Commons have appointed a committee to consider of their differences with us, if they be reconcilable; or, if not, how far they may be tolerated. At first the motion did much perplex us; but, after some debates upon it, we are now hopeful to make vantage of it, for the truth against the errors of that very wilful and obstinate party. We are in hopes to get the directory brought towards an end, and the catechism also ere long, with which some of us are likely to be sent down. The Confession of Faith is referred to a committee, to be put in several the best hands that are here. By the help of God, procured by your prayers, our adversaries designs may contribute to the happy closure of these longsome and wonderfully troublesome affairs.

83. *For Mr William Spang. October 25. 1644.*

Dear Cousin,

I have not written to you these three or four weeks, not only to stay while I found you had got my last, but specially because I had not a mind nor a hand to write any thing to any while I saw what would be the pleasure of God to do with us; and howsoever we be yet under the cloud, yet lest you should wait so long, I force myself



self to write this to you. On the other side you have what I wrote last to Scotland. Poor desolate Ireland lies in the former miseries. Monro, with all he could make, in July, made a road within sixteen miles of Dublin; for want of provision he quickly returned without the sight of an enemy. Castlehaven, convoyed with all the Irish commanders of note, followed him at the heels, with the best army ever that nation had, above 12,000 well-armed and disciplined men: they lay down under Charlemont, fenced in with water and bogs. Monro brought up to Ardmagh all he could make. Both were lying there September 19th, waiting who should first, for want of victuals, disband: since, we have heard nought of either. Inchiquin, and the Munstermen, who declared against the Popish Irish, lie quiet. Ormond, with the King's advice, has prorogued the cessation for three months longer, holding out the hopes of a full peace. In the mean time Alaster Macdonald, Colkittoch's son, with some 1500, the most part Scots highlanders, comes from isle to isle to Argyle, from the continent, with some English and Holland ships, take from them the most of their ships and boats; whereupon they run to the Lewis, and through passages where it is thought Seaforth (especially being warned by Argyle for that effect) might have stopped them; but, without any opposition, they run through Lochaber. When they come to Athol, the most there joined with them. Drummond and Gask raised the low country against them; but Montrose coming from England his alone disguised, did join with them, and, by his letters, got many of Strathern and Perthshire to join with him. Kilpont's treachery is revenged by his death, justly inflicted. Lord Duplin, now Kinnoul, Maderty, Fintry, Braco, and a number of note, did increase the army; yet they were but a pack of naked runagates, not three horse among them, few either swords or musquets: but the villainy of Lord Drummond and his friend, in the point of joining, exhorting to flee, according as by his letters he had appointed the night before, struck the rest with a panic fear, so that near 6000 of very good and brave men fled, leaving eight piece of cannon, and the most of their arms. In the fight not ten were killed; but in the flight some hundreds of the honest burgesses of Fife did fall. The villains gave no quarter; not a prisoner in the field was taken; Perth rendered at the first summons,



summons. Argyle, after he had learned the way whither the miscreants had run, followed as armed men might, which was four or five days journey behind them. As he came near Stirling, Montrose left Perth, having extorted near 9000 merks of money, and what arms they had. His summoning of Dundee was in vain; but all the rest of the country was at his mercy. Had Argyle gotten him later, all Fife had been sacked. The bridge of Dee was manned, so he went over a ford, where Elcho's regiment had a hot dispute, and killed many of his men; but prevailing in number, he forced his passage. Marischal being malecontent, sat still in Dunnottar. Gordon, to whom, unadvisedly, the command of the country was committed, did not bring with him above thirty horse, and these nothing stout. The townsmen of Aberdeen essayed to defend their market-place; but 140 of them were killed: within two days after put the knaves to their best. Our greatest fears were, that Seaforth, Grant, and Murray there should have joined; but when they came to Spey, Seaforth and Sutherland, with the gentry of Murray, lay on either side, kept them from passing; Argyle was at their heels; they got up to the mountains. Many of their followers left them; yet Montrose, with 2000 or 3000 of most desperate and cruel villains, came back on the hills, so far as Athol, whither he was to break down on Argyle, and so to sither-boats, to flee to Ireland; or to keep the hills till he came to Campsie, and then to fall down on Glasgow; and then to break through to England, as most did fear. We do not yet hear, only Kyle and Cunningham, with my Lord Montgomery, Clydesdale, with my Lord Lanerk, Renfrew, and Lennox, had their rendezvous at Glasgow the 11th of October. If he come that way, our greatest fear is, that a new army from Ireland fall on our west before Argyle can come back from the north. This is the greatest hurt our poor land got these fourscore years, and the greatest disgrace befell us these thousand. The reproach will stick on us for ever. It has much diminished our reputation already, being joined with the length of the siege of Newcastle. Many things there have deceived our hopes: The enemy within desperately resolute, with frequent sallies keep our people night and day in duty; our mines, the most part, after all our labour, were countermined or drowned; our soldiers, for want of pay and cloaths, were worn to rags;





fundry of our best regiments and officers were of necessity gone to Scotland; beside, winter and ill-weather comes now on. The Independent party lying always at the watch, finding us so low, and the General in the west shamefully disgraced, began lustily to play their game. Their first essay was on Manchester's army; there they had cast their strength, under Cromwell. All sectaries who pleased to be soldiers, for a long time casting themselves from all the other, arrive under his command, in one body. By many means they essayed to get Manchester removed: finding they could not conquer him, when all had failed, they betook themselves to our countryman Jordanhill's brother, Gen. Major Crawford, to have been cashiered by a council of war, for a number of pretended faults; but we did so manage that business that all their essays so were in vain. Their next essay was to have laid aside the General, and remnant of his forces, that Cromwell and their forces might be the more considerable: but considering the hazard; and seeing, after all our trial, no guiliness in the General; and finding the underhand dealing to join the General to their party, when they could not overthrow him; God helped us to guard it so, that the General keeps his place and credit, and knows who are his friends and foes. We had another bout with them about Shippon. They made the city crave him to be leader of their new levy of 5000 foot, and to be joined to Manchester. This was by Shippon's foot and Cromwell's horse to have made themselves masters of the field: this we also got crossed. But their greatest plot, wherewith yet we are wrestling, is an order of the House of Commons, contrived by Mr Solicitor and Mr Marshall, which they got stolen through, to the committee of Lords, Commons, and Divines, which treated with us, to consider of differences in point of church-government, which were among the members of the assembly, that they might be agreed; or if not, how far tender consciences might be borne with, which could not come up to the common rule to be established, that so the proceedings of the assembly might not be retarded. This order presently gave us the alarm: we saw it was for a toleration of the Independents by act of parliament, before the presbytery or any common rule were established. Our most trusty friend the Solicitor had throughed it the House before we heard of it. Mr Marshall had evidently,



in the prosecution of it, slighted us. Sir Henry Vane, whom we trusted most, had given us many signs of his alteration; twice at our table prolixly, earnestly, and passionately had reasoned for a full liberty of conscience to all religions, without any exceptions; had publickly, in the House, opposed the clause in the ordination that required ministers to subscribe the covenant, and that which did intimate their being over their flocks in the Lord; had moved the mustering of our army, as being far less than we were paid for; had been offended with the Solicitor for putting in the ordinance the differences about church-government; and not only about free grace, intruding liberty to the Antinomians, and to all sects, he, without the least occasion on our side, did openly oppose us. Always God has helped us against him and them egregiously to this day. In the first meeting of the grand committee, Mr Marshall the chairman, by canny conveyance, got a subcommittee nominate according to his mind, to draw the differences; Goodwin and Nye, other four with himself, who joined with the Independents in giving to the congregations power of excommunication and ordination. Vines, Herle, Reynolds, Temple, Seaman, and Palmer, of our mind, were named; but seeing us excluded by Marshall's cunning, would not join. The next two or three meetings were spent on the subcommittee's draught of the differences. We found the Independents clear for the whole people, every communicant male, to have decisive voice in all ecclesiastic causes, in admission, deposition, excommunication of ministers, in determining of schisms and heresies. 2. That no congregation did depend on any superior synod, so that a congregation falling in all the heresies and crimes of the world, neither the whole nor any member of it can be censured by any synod or presbytery in the earth, however it may be refused communion by any who find no satisfaction in its proceedings: but, which is worst of all, they avow they cannot communicate as members with any congregation in England, though reformed to the uttermost pitch of purity which the assembly or parliament are like to require, because even the English, as all the rest of the Reformed, will consist but of professors of the truth in whose life there is no scandal; but they require to a member, beside a fair profession, and want of scandal, such signs of grace as persuades the whole congregation of their true regeneration. We were glad to have them declare this much under their



hands ; for hitherto it has been their great care to avoid any such declaration ; but now they are more bold, apprehending their party to be much more considerable, and our nation much less considerable than before. The change of providence did nothing daunt our courage ; yet we were much in prayer and longing expectation that God would raise us from our lowness, near to contempt, and compass their groundless insolency. At our first meeting, my Lords Sey and Wharton, Vane and the Solicitor, pressed vehemently to debate the propositions of the subcommittee. They knew, when they had debated, and come to voicing, they would carry all by plurality in the committee ; and though they should not, yet they were confident, when the report came to the House of Commons, to get all they desired there past. So, without the assembly, they purposed immediately from this committee to get a toleration of Independency concluded in the House of Commons, long before any thing should be got so much as reported from the assembly anent presbyteries. Here it was where God helped us beside our expectation. Mr Rous, Mr Taite, and Mr Prideaux, among the ablest of the House of Commons, opposed them to their face. My Lord Chancellor, with a spirit of divine eloquence, Wariston, with the sharp points of manifold arguments, Maitland, Mr Henderson, Mr Gillespie, and all, made their designs to appear so clearly, that at once many did dislike them ; yet Henry Vane went on violently. We refused to consider their propositions, except on two express caveats ; one, That no report should be made of any conclusion of the committee, till first it came to the assembly, and from them, after examination, should be transmitted to the House of Commons ; another, That first the common rule of government should be resolved, before any forbearance of these who differed therefrom should be resolved upon. The first, after many hours sharp debate, we obtained : the second we are to debate to-morrow ; and, if we obtain it not, we have a brave paper ready, penned by Mr Henderson, to be given in to the Houses and assembly, which will paint out the Independents and their adherents so clearly, that I am hopeful that the bottom of their plots shall be dug out. While I am writing, we get the long-expected news of the taking of Newcastle, and that by storm. Blessed be the name of the Lord, who will not for ever condemn the prayers of his people. We were extremely dejected on

many



many grounds: we were perplexed for Scotland; beside winter, poverty, and strong, proud, obstinate enemies within Newcastle, the pest was beginning in our army; the King, with the greatest army he ever commanded, was coming straight upon us, being hopeful to dissipate our armies before they could conjoin, and it was but the miss of one day; yet Waller held him up skirmishing at and over till Manchester came to Newbury, and Essex to Alfort, whence all three, on Saturday, joined at Basing. The emulations and quarrels among all these three armies, both Generals and inferior officers, were formidable; yet such was the wisdom and diligence of the Chancellor and others, that Wariston and Mr Carew going down from the committee of both kingdoms, did move all the three Generals, and their armies, to join cordially against the enemy. The most true and real fast I ever saw here, was kept on Tuesday; also the House of Commons desired us in the assembly, to pray upon Wednesday, thinking the armies both these days to be in action, and expecting the determination of the great quarrel hourly, neither party having any other considerable forces on this side Newcastle. Great were the frays of this people, and their tears to God plentiful. The answer was not long a-coming. Before we had ended our prayers on Wednesday, in the assembly, the House of Peers sent us a message by my Lord Admiral and Pembroke, with all diligence, to haste the church-government, for heresies did spread mightily over all the land; also they told, the King had turned his back on us, and was retiring towards Oxford, finding, against his expectation, that all our arms were joined. He sent his foot and artillery away, and with his horse drew near, as resolute to fight; but shortly drew off, and followed his foot: we are at their heels. It will be hard if we get not a hit of them before they win to Oxford. Hurry is come back to us, and received; he promises the coming over of a better soldier than himself: but above all, the news of Newcastle, in these two hours, has filled the city with extreme joy. The great God be blessed again and again for it. This people would have perished of cold without it. Had we got it by composition, it had not relieved our credit, nor the necessity of our most deserving and worse rewarded army. God, in clear justice toward that most wicked town, and great mercy to us all, hardened that people, that they should reject,





reject; with insolence, the fairest conditions that ever people in their condition could have expected; so that any loss they have, the world will excuse us of it. That our joy may be the greater, the Admiral at the same time receives a letter from one of his ships on the Irish coast, that Monro has defeat Castlehaven with all his proud army in Ulster. We trust to hear next of the vengeance of God on Montrose, and his followers in Scotland. All these things lift us not up, but hasten us to send our propositions to the King, without any addition to these articles which were debated and agreed on in our parliament. The admitting of these articles is the greatest use we desire to make of these great favours our God has these two days poured upon us.

The books you wrote of are not come to me; I hear nought of them as yet. What you wrote for I delivered to Mr Garret, to be sent in the next ship. Downham's guide is 18 s. and Hooker's 3 volumes is 15 s. I know I am much in your debt; but I intreat, so far as either your papers or your memory can serve you, let me once again know my sum what it is: by any means satisfy me in this, I shall the more freely send for any thing I desire from thence, and shall send you what you desire from this. If God will bless us with the overthrow of these evil men, friends will yet live comfortably together. Apollonius's book will not be delivered to the assembly till it come off the press. We are extremely obliged to him, and as much disobliged to his opposites. The letter of the synod of Utrecht was read the other day in the assembly, but had not one word either of Episcopacy or Independency. We would have expected other things from Voetius; but the Independents diligence far and near is great; yet I believe God will not bless their ways. Rivet, in all our controversies, resolves to be mute and silent also; yet Moulin has written very honestly his mind; but Diodati and the Parisians are not as we expected. The Switzers, and lately the rest of the divines of Geneva, have given us satisfaction. We hope shortly, when God has put our enemies under our feet, these our Reverend brethren who have been last in appearing for us, shall be most ample in their encouragements. We are loth to censure any man, only, in so great conflicts, we would have expected from brethren in a common cause, greater assistance than we have got from any over sea, except only  
worthy



worthy and noble Apollonius; but I must end abruptly, or lose my late supper. Farewell.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

84. For Mr William Spang. November 1. 1644.

Dear Cousin,

—Of the taking of Newcastle I wrote at length. The routing of the Irish by Monro is not seconded; but the routing and flight of the King's army here is very true. His foot are all dissipated; few slain. His horse got away at midnight towards Oxford. Monday last, himself, and the Prince, with some 500 horse, towards Bristol. The remnant of his cannon and baggage, which was not taken that night, were left in Dennington castle, a mile from Newbury. We expect to hear this night, or to-morrow, that the castle, and all in it, also General Ruthven to the boot, now weary of the King, shall fall in our hands. Our committee at Newcastle wrote up to the Houses, to haste the settling of the church. This motion was well received by all but Sey, Vane, and some few Independents. To comfort them, six or eight of the chief Lords came this day in message from the House of Peers with that letter, intreated the assembly to haste; also in that letter the Commons voted, over the Independents bellies, the dissolving of that dangerous committee which these five weeks has vexed us. The preface of our directory, casting out at doors the liturgy, and all the ceremonies *in cumulo*, is this day passed. It cost us divers days debate, and these sharp enough, with our best friends. Apollonius's book is not yet off the press, and so I have not seen it; only the preface I read, which I like exceedingly well. One thing I must recommend to your serious care. We are informed from thence very credibly, that the agents of the Independents have so far prevailed with Voetius, as to make him publish his approbation of the Keys of the kingdom of heaven, as consonant to truth, and the discipline of Holland. If he should be so evil advised as to do any thing of this kind at this time, he will wrong himself, and us, and all the Reformed churches, exceedingly, and do what in him lies to mar the most great and gracious work here; which, by God's help, after so great opposition,



tion, we are carrying to a happy conclusion. You would write to him, and all you can join with you, to obtest him he do not any such work, so unworthy of himself. We could never have suspected any such things, if a very good hand had not confidently assured us of it.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

35. *Publick Letter. November 21. 1644.*

OUR languor here is great to hear of the crushing of that wicked crew which troubles your peace. That as yet you have not got order with them, is the matter of our greatest grief. If the Lord had humbled and softened the hearts of your people, and wrought them by that rod to a real reformation, which I trust he is doing, I am confident, by the blast of his vengeance, these grasshoppers should be carried out of the land. The condition of affairs here you may read in the printed papers, and of things abroad in the writ. The fruit of our victory at Newbury was not so great as we expected. Within ten days thereafter the King rallied his forces, and, with the addition of what Prince Rupert brought him, became stronger than we: for the custom of the soldiers here is woeful; they cannot bide from home a month together on any condition. This unamendable abuse diminished much our army; so that the King came safely from Oxford to Dennington castle, and brought off his cannon and baggage, and all he had left there. Our army were content to look on him in the bygoing, without minting to fight. This was ill spoken of here. The King marched towards Basing to relieve that longsome siege. Our army followed, much incensed with the obloquy they had received for their sitting still at Newbury. The Houses, fearing their rashness in fighting, and seeing the necessar dissolution of the King's army of its own accord in a few days, having no pay, and the winter being rainy, sent them word to be very wary in fighting: so ours returned to Reading, and the King's to Newbury; whence it is expected, that, without more ado, both will go to their winter-quarters, leaving the ending of the war in the spring to the Scots army, if peace cannot be had before. Three of our commissioners, Maitland, Sir Charles Erskine, and Mr Barclay,



clay, went yesterday, with the Earl of Dunby, and four commoners, to the King, upon his safe-conduct, with the propositions of peace agreed upon by the parliaments of both kingdoms. We pray God give them good speed. There is small hopes of the King's acceptance of them; yet many think they may draw on a treaty; and who knows but that may bring us to a peace? However, the difficulties as yet seem inextricable by the wit of any man.

Our church-affairs go on now apace, blessed be God. Our letters from Newcastle moved the Houses to call once, twice, thrice, to the assembly for expedition. They sent up our propositions concerning presbyteries. The Independents gave in the reasons of their dissent therefrom. These are in the hands of a committee. The answer is like to be full and satisfactory to the world, and possibly to the parties themselves. In a few days, all we have done about government will be sent up to the Houses, against which the Independents will have nothing considerable to say more than is in their papers against presbyteries. But that which most comforts us is the directory. All that we have done in it is this day sent up, with a full unanimity of all. Many a wearisome debate has it cost us; but we hope the sweet fruit will overbalance the very great toil we had in it. The last passage was sensibly from God. After, with huge deal of ado, we passed the parts that concerned prayers, reading of scripture, preaching, both the sacraments, ordination, and sanctification of the sabbath, there were many references to the presbytery; one, to turn the directory to a straight liturgy; another to make it so loose and free, that it should serve for little use: but God helped us to get both these rocks eschewed. Always here-yesterday, when we were at the very end of it, the Independents brought us so doubtful a disputation, that we were in very great fear all should be cast in the hows; and that their opposition to the whole directory should be as great as to the government; yet God in his mercy guided it so, that yesterday we got them, and all others, so satisfied, that, *nemine contra licente*, it was ordered all together to be transmitted to the Houses, and Goodwin to be one of the carriers; which was this day done, to all our great joy, and hope that this will be a good ground of agreement betwixt us and them, either soon or syne. What remains of the directory, anent marrying and burial, will soon be dispatched. The catechism is drawn up, and, I think,





think, shall not take up much time. I fear the Confession of Faith may stick longer. However, we will, by God's help, have so much work done in a month, that it seems necessar to have a general assembly in Scotland shortly, that some of us may bring there what here has been so long in doing, to be revised, and, I hope, without great difficulty, to be passed. If it please the Lord to perfect this work, it will be the sweetest and most happy business that ever in this isle was enterprised. The hope of it comforts us in the midst of our perplexities, which sometimes are not small. The chimes for midnight are ringing at Westminster, so I must crave leave to go to bed; only, remembering my best affections to my brethren of both my presbyteries, and desiring their prayers for the advancing and perfecting the great work in hand, I rest, the servant of all those who with the weal of Zion.

86. *Publick Letter. December 1. 1644.*

ALL our company, thanks to God, feel the fruit of Scotland's prayers. We all, since our coming to this day, had good health, and perfect concord, and, in greatest perplexity, faith in God. After two days rough debate, and great appearance of irreconcilable differences, thanks to God, we have got the Independents satisfied, and an unanimous consent of all the assembly, that marriage shall be celebrated only by the minister, and that in the church, after our fashion. There are whisperings of good appearance, that the Independents will be gotten contented to take up their reasons, and submit themselves to the assembly. If this be, it were better than a new victory over the King's army. Who knows what reward the Lord may give us for our great patience, and love to these, however very good, yet very dangerous and unhappy men, who have been the great and mighty instruments to keep all things here loose, both in church and state, these two years bygone, for the increasing of their party to so great a strength, that they might, by fear and threats, obtain their desires. But these four months bygone, since we set our face against them openly, their plots are so broken, and their strength decayed, that I hope God will make them more pliable to reason, than otherwise they were inclined. You see I am careful by all occasions to let you know



know how the world does go. With our post, by land, I sent large information, November 21. With this bearer you have a journal; and, for affairs abroad, two papers; the one, what Sir Thomas Dithington sent me last from Paris; the other, what Sir Robert Anstruther got the last week from Brussels. Matters here stand thus: The House of Commons have passed, without any variation to count of, all the directory we sent them, and I hope to-morrow will send it to the Lords to make an ordinance upon it. In the assembly we have stuck longer than we expected on marriage: but I hope to-morrow we shall end it; and before this week end we shall pass the two remnant parts of the directory, fasting, and burial, or visitation of the sick; also, that we shall one of the days of this week send up the rest of our votes of government, except we fall in debate of some passages of our too large answer to the Independents reasons against presbyteries. Believe it, for as slow as you may think us, and as we pronounce ourselves to be, yet all the days of the week we are pretty busy. We sit daily from nine till near one; and after noon till night we are usually in committees. Saturday, our only free day, is to prepare for Sunday; wherein we seldom vaik from preaching in some eminent place of the city. Judge what time we have for letters, and writing of pamphlets, and many other businesses. We would think it a great ease both to our bodies and spirits to be at home. There are two new businesses fallen in, which will make some stir for a time. Our commissioners are returned from Oxford. In the few days they were there, they saw, and learned from their secret friends, that however the soldiers, and most both of nobility and gentry, be extreme miserable and poor, and have great need of peace; yet the Queen's party, that guides still the King, Digby, Hyde, Ashburnham, Rupert, and Maurice, Richmond, and Southampton, the junto that makes cyphers of the other Lords and Commons, few and poor, who now sit in the two Houses of parliament at Oxford, are as far averse from any just and equitable peace as ever. They think Montrose is master of Scotland, that from Ireland and France they will get wonders; therefore they but laugh at us and our propositions. Only to increase our divisions, they have sent for a safe-conduct to Richmond and Southampton, to come with the King's answer to our propositions. What these two will offer, we know not;



but we expect little good from them. The other matter is, Lieutenant-General Cromwell has publickly, in the House of Commons, accused my Lord of Manchester of the neglect of fighting at Newbury. That neglect indeed was great; for, as we now are made sure, the King's army was in that posture, that they took themselves as lost all utterly. Yet the fault is unjustly laid on Manchester. It was common to all the general officers then present, and to Cromwell himself as much as to any other. Always Manchester has cleared himself abundantly in the House of Lords, and there has reprimanded Cromwell, as one who has avowed his desire to abolish the nobility of England; who has spoken contumeliously of the Scots intention of coming into England to establish their church-government, in which Cromwell said he would draw his sword against them, also against the assembly of divines, and has threatened to make an army of scéarics, to extort by force, both from King and parliament, what conditions they thought meet. This fire was long under the embers; now it is broken out, we trust, in a good time. It is like, for the interest of our nation, we must crave reason of that darling of the scéarics, and in obtaining his removal from the army, which himself, by his own rashness, has procured, to break the power of that potent faction. This is our present difficult exercise. We had need of your prayers.

87. *To Mr William Spang. December 6. 1644.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

You have here what I have written to Scotland. Besides, I let you know, we never go so quickly in the assembly as we expect. This week, after many sharp debates, we have agreed, and sent up to the houses, our directory, for marriage, and days of thanksgiving; also we have, with much difficulty, passed a proposition for abolishing their ceremonies at burial: but our difference about funeral sermons seems irreconcilable, as it has been here and every where preached. It is nothing but an abuse of preaching, to serve the humours only of rich people for a reward. Our church expressly has discharged them on many good reasons. It is here a good part of the ministers livelihood; therefore they will not quit it.

After



After three days debate, we cannot find yet a way of agreeance. If this were passed, there is no more in our directory, but fasting and holidays, wherein we apprehend no difference. Upon these, with our votes of government already passed, and our answers to the Independents reasons, the next week, I think, will be spent. The letter of your classes before Apollonius's book was read the other day, and a printed copy of his book given to every member of the assembly. It was not only very well taken, but also, which is singular, and, so far as I remember, *absque exemplo*, it was ordered, *nemine contradicente*, to write a letter of thanks to Apollonius. Surely he has done a piece of good service to God, and his churches here. I have not yet had leisure to read it all; but I approve what I have read. This matter of Cromwell has been a high and mighty plot of the Independent party to have gotten an army for themselves under Cromwell, with the ruin, and shamefully unjust crushing, of Manchester's person, of dissolving the union of the nations, of abolishing the House of Lords, of dividing the House of Commons, of filling the city, and most of the Commons, with intestine wars, of setting up themselves upon the ruins of all; but God, who has drawn us out of many desperate dangers, is like to turn this dangerous mischief on the heads of the contrivers. I hope it shall break the far more supposed than real strength of that party, and unite us more strongly; but we are yet wrestling with them. By the next you may have more. Whether the King will send Lennox and Southampton, we cannot yet say; for in our answer we have put, we think, the thorn in their foot. By a letter from our General to their General, we have signified, that a safe-conduct shall be sent to Lennox and Southampton, if so be the King will send them to the houses of parliament, with his answer to the propositions sent to him by the parliaments of both kingdoms. Things on neither hands seem yet mature for any real pacification; but the Lord knows what he is doing.

88. *Publick Letter. December 26. 1644.*

THE last week I wrote at length how all went. What is more since, you may see in the three printed and two written papers. It seems there will be a present entry in a  
treaty





treaty of peace. There is very great need and desire of it on both sides; but the difficulties are yet insuperable to human reason, albeit there be a fairer beginning on both sides than was expected: for though the hope of either party of a peace, such as they can accept, be yet but small; yet both strive by all means, in the prosecuting of it, to approve themselves to the people as men who are most desirous thereof. The safe-conduct is sent from this to Oxford; so one of these days we expect Richmond and Southampton. The Holland ambassadors and French agent are as busy with the parliament to put themselves in a way of furthering that treaty; but the thing which now is most spoken of here, is the sudden and unexpected work of yesterday. The House of Commons, in one hour, has ended all the quarrels which was betwixt Manchester and Cromwell, all the obloquies against the General, the grumbings against the proceedings of many in their House. They have taken all office from all the members of both Houses. This done on a sudden, in one session, with great unanimity, is still more and more admired by some, as a most wise, necessary, and heroick action; by the other, as the most rash, hazardous, and unjust action, as ever parliament did. Much may be said on both hands, but as yet it seems a dream, and the bottom of it is not understood. We pray God it may have a good success. We daily now make good progress in the assembly. We have sent up our directory for marriage and thanksgiving; we have also got through burial. We have some little thing to say of fasting, and visiting of the sick; and so our long-looked for directory will be closed. It is exceedingly liked by all who see it. Every piece of it passes the Houses as fast as we send it. Our answers to the Independents reasons are now ready, and I hope this week may be sent up to the House. We have also put together all our votes of government, and will send them up to-morrow to both Houses. The Independents have entered their dissent only to three propositions: "That in Ephesus was a classical presbytery; That there is a subordination of assemblies; That a single congregation has not all and sole power of ordination." Their reasons against these three propositions we expect to-morrow. Against the end of the next week we hope our committees will have answers ready to all they will say; and after all is sent up to the House, by God's help, we expect shortly an erection of presbyteries and



and synods here; for there appears a good forwardness to expedite all things of that kind in both Houses since the taking of Newcastle. If the directory and government were once out of our hands, as a few days will put them, then we will fall on our great question of excommunication, the catechism, and confession. There is here matter to hold us long enough, if the wrangling humour which long predominated in many here did continue; but, thanks to God, that is much abated, and all incline towards a conclusion. We have drawn up a directory for church-censures and excommunication; wherein we keep the practice of our church, but decline speculative questions. This, we hope, will please all who are not Independents; yea, I think even they needed not differ with us here: but it yet appears they will to separation, and are not so careful to accommodate, as conscience would command peaceable men to be. However, we hope to get the debates of these things we most feared either eschewed or shortened. We have near also agreed in private on a draught of catechism; whereupon, when it comes in publick, we expect little debate. I think we must either pass the Confession to another season, or, if God will help us, the heads of it being distribute among many able hands, it may in a short time be so drawn up, as the debates of it may cost little time. All this chalking is on the supposition of God's singular assistance, continuing such a disposition in the assembly and parliament as has appeared this month or two bypast. On this supposition, two months, or three at most, may do much to put on the cope-stone of our wonderful great work. For this end, we had much need of all your earnest prayers to God; for, we trust, many living, and many more not yet born, shall eat with delight, and bless the Lord for the sweet fruit of our very toilsome, and sometimes heavy and bitter labours. But of all these things much more, if it please God I may be permitted to come down to that general assembly, which, according to our late advice, I hope before this be indicted in our church.

I trust this shall be the last which I shall write from this; for Mr Gillespie and I being appointed to attend the general assembly, purpose, if God will, shortly to take journey. We hope this day to close in the assembly, the remainder of our directory, and to send it up to-morrow to the Houses; so the next week we expect an ordinance of parliament for the whole directory. We have



have transmittted our answers to the Independents reasons against our presbytery. They are well taken, and now upon the press. We hope, in the beginning of next week, to send up also our answer to their reasons against synods. We make no question but shortly thereafter the Houses will pass an ordinance for the government; what is behind, a good part of it, will be ended, and follow us to our general assembly; and all the rest, by all appearance, will be closed in a month or two thereafter; for all men now incline to a conclusion. God, in his good providence, has made many things, especially the counsels of our enemies and retarders, to co-operate for his ends.

The King's commissioners, Lennox and Southampton, are gone. We can say little yet. If any that come from Oxford might be trusted, we might have some little hope, but truly I dare say nothing yet; for the great hopes they put us in at first, by their confident assurances of the King's willingness to give us satisfaction in the hardest of the propositions, concerning the church and militia, before their departure they somewhat bluffed, by their needless lingerings here, and using, as we suspected, such courses as favoured of their old unhappy and unprofitable way of hen-wiles, to make and increase parties among us. But this will not do it. They resolve here quickly to put the matter of the treaty to a point; to have it in a mid place betwixt this and Oxford; to limit it to a nineteen or twenty days, in the which, if two or three prime articles cannot pass, they mind not to delay more. They are now on a fair and probable way to get a good sum of money to our army for the present, and to have them better paid hereafter; so that quickly in February they may come south to better quarters. If it please God to assist, this evil faction here may be broken, and cast out of England, in some months: a course also will be taken both for sea and land, that will give the Irish rebels some other work than to run over, in any considerable number, either to England or Scotland. No appearances of any forces or great sums of money from France. Good appearance here of a more vigorous proceeding, and greater correspondence with us in all things both of church and state, both of peace and war, than hitherto has been. Alight it please the Lord to be gracious to you there, to humble your hearts under the rod that lies on you, that unanimously you might join to sling that handful of vermin in  
 1 the



the sea, we would quickly expect a glorious conclusion of the great work in hand. Our most earnest prayers are for this.

89. *For Mr William Spang. December 27. 1644.*

Dear Cousin,

Yours with Col. Fullarton I received, and three books. The reason I write not weekly to you, is not only the multitude of our affairs here, but also a maxim I had resolved to keep, not to deliver to the Dunkirkers two of my letters in end. For these three months we have heard noise of intercepting of letters, or opening of them: however, we have not felt any such thing in truth, but only the last week, when the packet-boat going from this to you was taken by a knave; yet it was my resolution to write none to you till I had found my former had been delivered safely: but hereafter you shall have no such cause of complaint; for I purpose to write to you the next week, and no more at this time from this place, for the Monday thereafter at farthest, Jan. 6. Mr Gillespie and I must take journey for Scotland, to give an account of our labours here to the general assembly, which, at our desire, they have called to meet at Edinburgh, Jan. 22. We have ended this day the directory in the assembly. The Houses are through the most of it already. Before we go they will pass all. What remains of the government concerning the hard questions of excommunication, Mr Henderfon has drawn it up by way of a practical directory, so calmly, that we trust to get it all past the assembly next week, without much debate. The men whom most we feared, profess their satisfaction with that draught. It is certainly true of what you wrote, of the impossibility ever to have gotten England reformed by human means, as things here stood, without their brethrens help. The learnedest and most considerable part of them were fully Episcopal. Of these who joined with the parliament, the greatest and most countenanced part were much Episcopal. The Independents had brought the people to such a confusion, that was insuperable by all the wit and strength which was here; but God has so guided it, that all has contributed for the main work. The wickedness of the Popish and Prelatical faction still continuing and increasing; the horrible extravagancies





travagancies of the sectaries; the unreasonable obstinacy of the Independents; the strange confusions of this long anarchy; and, most of all, God's good hand on us here in the assembly, and on our armies in the fields, has contribute to dispose this land to a very fair reformation above all their hopes. If their treaty bring us not to the substance of our propositions, we will early go to a more vigorous war, and hope in God, before harvest, to put these evil men out of Britain. The continuance of our troubles in Scotland, from a most naughty and despicable enemy, is from God, to humble our pride, and to prepare us for greater service. The means of it was, and is, some improvidence in some of our guides; but well I know no crime. The envy and emulation of some, and, as some think, the idleness and perverseness of some late covenanters, made Argyle to be almost deserted in his pursuit; but I hope all these things are, or shortly will be helped. My Lord Wariston and Mr Barclay went from this yesterday to our parliament, that sits January 7. If God be pleased to remember his mercy, we are in a fair way of prospering. As to Cromerus and Rivet, I wrote to the college to receive them. Rivet, I have it all before in parcels. I thank you that at last ye have sent me my account, yet you must close it, for I understand not guilders and stivers. Rutherford's last book was sent to you by the author. Edwards's book was the author's gift to me; so it is gratis *accepistis*. Diodati I gave to Mr Garret. I shall get the prices of the other. That any of my Canterburians or Parallels sells, it is well; for neither here nor in Scotland they give money, they are out of date. I am sorry I cannot come over to see your wife, to whom I pray you remember me. Your advice about the boy I will communicate with my wife, and after consult with you farther. Try what flirs are these which the divines of Saumur and Paris, Cameron's scholars, are moving. Write no more to me hither. When it pleases God I retire to my old corner, keep promise of paying me your debt of intelligence with great increase, for I cannot deny my creed. The Lord be with you. Pardon my evil hand; for usually I am in haste. You have a double here of my last two to Scotland. Farewell. Your Cousin,

JAMESONE.



90. For Mr Buchanan at Paris.

Monfieur,

AT my first fight of your papers, if I mistake not the sense, I remark sundry passages which I conceive would much prejudice our cause, if the writ went abroad without some alterations.

1. In the 12th, 13th, and 14th propositions, however the divine right and tyranny of Episcopacy be disclaimed, yet the lawfulness of a moderate Episcopacy, established upon an ecclesiastical right, is plainly avowed. This assertion our church judges both wrong in itself, and extremely prejudicial to our present affairs.

2. In the 5th, 7th, 8th, and 9th, the divine right of our ruling elders is evaded; they are made only the deputies of the people, and they alone also are called the church-representative; the preachers and deacons, exclusive and opposite to ruling elders, are made to be the only divine and apostolick officers in the church. We admit of no officers in the house of God, on a human and ecclesiastick right.

3. In the 6th, the divine right of the whole congregation, to give voice and suffrage in matters of government, is avowed. This is one of the greatest grounds of the Independents. What the word of God grants to the people we may not deny to them, and no posterior canon of the church can take from them.

4. Of all that here is said against the Independents, there is very little to the point; for they will grant it all, and deny they maintain any such independency as here is impugned. They avow a dependency, and that by divine command, on all the neighbour churches; only deny a superiority of jurisdiction of any church or synod over another church. In my judgement, these and such-like grounds, give much more advantage to the Prelatical and Independent party against us, than we can get of all the rest of the writ against them. I could not communicate it to Mr Henderson as yet; but ye will consider of these my extemporal and possibly misgrounded thoughts. So, till meeting; and ever, I rest your servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.



P. S. Since, I have conferred with Mr Henderson. We are both in opinion, that you in your own way, the best you can, would essay to get your friends so informed, that they, in forenamed points, would write according to the mind of our church; or if this cannot be obtained, with all thankfulness to themselves, for their hearty affection to our cause, you will so guide it, that they may be silent till they see what it may be the will of God to do with these poor distressed churches.

91. For Mr Buchanan.

Monsieur,

IT were good that our friends at Paris were made to understand our hearty and very kind resentment of their demonstration of zeal and affection towards the common cause of all the Reformed churches now in our poor weak hands; that, since they offer to take information of the points in question from us on the place, to whom they intend this brotherly and very timeous assistance, we present to their wise considerations,

1. That the covenant of Scotland rejects absolutely all kinds of Episcopacy: That the covenant of the three kingdoms, is expressly for rooting of all Prelacy, not the tyranny alone of that office: That the Royalists would be well content to keep in any imaginable kind of Episcopacy, being assured, in their own time, to break in pieces and rend all the caveats we can put on it; so it is necessary to hold to that ground, wherein all here do agree, and to which the Royalists themselves are on the point of yielding, That no Episcopacy here is tolerable, as being a mere human invention, without the word of God, which, where-ever it lodged, has been a very unhappy guest. The total extirpation of it would be applauded and congratulated without any distractions or any reservations, or else nothing would be spoken of that point.

2. That ruling elders are conceived here on the old French grounds, by all of our side, to stand on a divine right; and that an ecclesiastick right alone is no just foundation for any officer in the house of God.

3. That the Independents common tenets are these:
1. That the power of ecclesiastick censures is alone in the congregational presbyteries. They grant the divine right, and



and many excellent uses, of synods, lesser and greater; only deny their power of jurisdiction over any congregation. Ordination of all officers, also their deposition, and excommunication of all members, they give to the congregational consistory. They give so much authority to a synod, and to every neighbour congregation, when they receive no satisfaction from any scandalous congregation, to abstain from communion with it, and to pronounce their sentence of that non-communion with it. 2. They will admit of none to be members of their congregations of whose true grace and regeneration they have no good evidences. By this means they would keep out all the Christian church, forty for one of the members of the best reformed churches. 3. They make it necessary to have all the men who are communicants, present at every act of jurisdiction of the consistory: though they give them not suffrages, yet nothing must be done without their consent. 4. They give liberty to any man who is able, though he never intend the ministry, to profess and preach publicly, in the face of the church. 5. They do not censure, in their churches, the denial of paedobaptism, though they profess their dislike of that error. 6. Many of them preach, and some print, a liberty of conscience, at least the great equity of a toleration of all religions; that every man should be permitted, without any fear so much as of discountenance from the magistrate, to profess publicly his conscience, were he never so erroneous, and also live according thereunto, if he trouble not the publick peace by any seditious or wicked practice. They have a number of more singularities, which I take no time to relate. They profess to regard nothing at all, what all the Reformed, or all the world, say, if their sayings be not backed with convincing scriptures or reason. All human testimonies they declaim against, as a Popish argument. So far as yet we perceive, they will separate from all the Reformed, and will essay, by all they can either do or suffer, to have their new way advanced. The sooner all the Reformed declare against them, it will be the better.

92. *My Assembly-Speech.*

Right Honourable, Right Reverend Fathers and Brethren,

It is the joy of our heart, and the refreshing of our weariness,





weariness, after a long and troublesome journey, to behold the chearful face of this most venerable assembly; whom we pray God to bless, and all these honourable companies we are come from, does heartily salute in the Lord.

Our main errand hither at this time is, as you all know, to give some account, as God shall enable our weakness, of the employment of your servants and commissioners, and our Honourable and Reverend Brethren at London, who now a whole year and divers months have, with all care, attended the assembly and parliament there, for the furthering and advancement in that uniformity in divine worship and church-government, which both nations have sworn in their solemn league and covenant. The success which God, according to your prayers, hath been pleased to grant to our labour, you will better see than we can report, in the papers which we have brought from the Honourable Houses of Parliament, to be communicate when your wisdom shall think it seasonable to call for them. The sum of all, as we conceive, is well expressed in the letter of our dear colleagues to this venerable meeting, which here we offer; as also in that other letter of that Reverend assembly at London to that same meeting, which here likewise we present.

We can add nothing to that which from these letters you will hear read; only with your Reverences permission and favour, we are bold to profess, that God has done great things for poor Scotland, wherein our hearts doth rejoice; and we are confident, that the hearts of the godly posterity will not only rejoice, but wonder, when they look back on the footsteps of the Lord in his glorious work. When the bishops of England had put upon the neck of our church and nation the yoke, first of their Episcopacy, then of their ceremonies, 3dly, the whole mass of a service-book, and with it the body of Popery; when both our church and state did groan under an unsupportable slavery; to have been freed of these burdens; to have been restored unto the purity of our first reformation, and the ancient liberty of our kingdom; to have had bishops, ceremonies, book and state slavery reformed, we would lately have esteemed it a mercy above all our praises: but now, beholding the progress of the Lord, how he has led us by the hand, and marched before us to the homes and holds of our injurious oppressors; how  
there



there he has made bare his holy arm, and brought the wheel of his vengeance upon the whole race and order of prelates in England, and has plucked up the root, and all the branches of Episcopacy in all the King's dominions; that an assembly and parliament in England unanimously, but which is their word, abolished not only these ceremonies which troubled us, but the whole service-book, as a very idol, so speak they also, and a vessel full of much mischief; that in place of Episcopacy a Scots presbytery should be concluded in an English assembly, and ordained in an English parliament, as it is already ordained in the House of Commons; that the practice of the church of Scotland, set down in a most wholesome, pious, and prudent directory, should come in the place of a liturgy in all the three dominions; such stories lately told, would have been counted fancies, dreams, mere impossibilities: yet this day we tell them as truths, and deeds done, for the great honour of our God, and, we are persuaded, the joy of many a godly soul. If any will not believe our report, let them trust their own eyes; for behold here the warrant of our words, written and subscribed by the hands of the clerks of the parliament of England, and the scribes of the assembly there. We will not descend into any particulars; for that were to take up more of your precious time than now you can spare; and it were needlessly to anticipate by discourse these things which presently, in particular and length, must be read unto you. Only it is our earnest desire, that the mercies wherof we are speaking, may be matter of thankfulness to all, a door of hope to fainting and feeble minds, who are oft miscarried with fear what yet may be the event; a certain ground of clear despair to all the enemies of Zion, that they may give over their vain labour, and cease to oppose the work of God, whether by their secret obstructions, or open hostility; knowing that it will be hard for them to kick against the pricks, and that there is neither wisdom nor strength against the Lord. Since the beginning of this work to this present moment, an observing and faithful eye may clearly remark the Lord still advancing like the morning-sun, ever advancing towards the meridian; it is great folly to fear, that any man, that all the worms of the earth, can stop the progress of the sun in the firmament. Clouds may arise from the earth, and thick mists may darken the face of the sky; but the sun goes on in his course, and at last by his strength will dis-

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pel these vapours, and make them fall to the ground, not without the benefit of the earth. This will doubtless be the end of these clouds that now fill our air. Let them yet further break out in more stormy winds, in greater fires and claps of thunder than ever; yet at last this must be their destiny, to the ground they must fall, and fill the ditches and pits of God's vengeance. Our sun will shine, and our air will clear again. This we must believe, and, according to our faith, we shall certainly find it. It was indeed very needful that we should be humbled; our nation lately was advanced to a high pitch of honour; we might have perished worse, if we had not perished thus. We judge truly, that all our present troubles are not so much interruptions of the work, as very fit and seasonable preparatives to make us capable of more honour than yet we have attained; to fit us to be instrumental in greater works and services than yet we have been employed in. We all hope, that the chariot of the Lord will not here stand, nor be arrested within the compass of this isle.

93. *To Mr William Spang. London, April 25. 1645.*

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

Yours, with my cousin James Baillie, I got, and thank you for it. This is the first I wrote to you since I came from London. It pleased God to give us a very prosperous journey. However, the ways were very deep, and the excursions of the enemy from Newark hazardous; yea, much more than we knew; for we learned thereafter that we were pursued, and escaped scarcely one hour. The pest was also in many places of our way; yet God brought us both to Edinburgh safe, without a fall or great weariness, on the Wednesday at night, the first day of the assembly. I wanted not my fears of opposition in the assembly to sundry things we had brought down. I would gladly have had time to have informed privately our friends of all things before we had brought them in publick. As for the changes in our church, I had laboured with my colleagues to have schewed them all, and found Mr Henderson not much from my mind; but others were passionate for them, and at last carried, first Mr Henderson, and then me, to their mind. The belief in baptism was never said in England, and they would not undergo



that yoke. When they urged, we could not deny, but the saying by many was a fruitless and mere formality, and to others a needless weight; and that the saying the commands was no less unnecessary. We got the assembly to equivalent interrogatories, much against the mind of the Independents, and we were assured to have the creed a part of the catechism. All, both they and we, would gladly have been at the keeping still of readers; for we foresaw the burden which the removal would bring on the ministers back: but, after all our study, we could find no warrant for such an officer in the church; and to bring in the church a man to be the congregation's mouth to God, and God's mouth to the congregation, without a clear warrant of the word, we saw the intolerable consequences of such a maxim. For bawling in the pulpit, whether by custom, or because of the late consequent abuse of it by the prelatial party, to bow to the east and the altar, it was universally, by all sorts of men, so unanimously disused, that we were not able to make them alter. I think they would have taken our difference here in good enough part; but the conveniency of uniformity in this point, and our willingness to have that matter of debate removed out of our church, made us the more condescending to their desire of our coming to them here. Also about the conclusion of the psalm, we had no debate with them; without scruple, Independents and all sang it, so far as I know, where it was printed at the end of two or three psalms. But in the new translation of the psalms, resolving to keep punctually to the original text, without any addition, we and they were content to omit that; whereupon we saw both the Popish and Prelatical party did so much dote, as to put it to the end of the most of their lessons, and all their psalms. Of the last two there was nothing in the directory, only in the letter of the English assembly; also in our colleagues letter to the assembly there was a desire of them in a general courteous clause, which we were instructed to make particular. I pressed much, that this desire should be delayed till Mr Henderson had come home, fearing we had more burden already than our weak back would bear; yet such was the importunity of others, fearing not to get so good a season afterward, that we behoved to venture.

On Thursday we were brought to the assembly. I spoke what you have in the inclosed. Mr Gillespie spoke there-





after much to the same purpose. Because of the longing desire of all to know what we brought, and to deliver the minds of some from their fears, lest we had other things than we at first would bring forth, all was presently read; the letters of the English assembly, our commissioners letters, the directory from end to end, the directory for ordination, the votes of government so far as had passed the assembly, and some other papers. All was heard with great applause, and contentment of all. It was one of the fairest assemblies I had seen; the choicest of the ministry and elders of all Scotland well convened; almost the whole parliament, nobles, barons, burghs, and all the considerable persons who were in town. Our message was exceeding opportune, and welcome to all. It was a great refreshing to them in a time of languishing and discouragement. A numerous committee was appointed to examine all punctually, which we were desired to attend. In five or six days we went through, and, by God's assistance, gave all men satisfaction in every thing. The brethren from whom we expected most fastness were easily satisfied; all did lovingly condescend to the alterations I had so much opposed, whereof I was very glad: only Mr And. R. was oft exceeding impertinent with his ostentation of antiquity, and Mr D. Calderwood was oft fashious with his very rude and humorous opposition: yet we got them all at last contented; and the act, which Mr Gillespie drew very well, consented to, in the committee first, and thereafter in the assembly, with a joy unspeakable, blessed be God.

Thereafter we gave to the committee like satisfaction a-  
 nent the other papers whereupon they were to have the  
 assembly's opinion, but no act till they had passed the hou-  
 ses of the English parliament. When we had thus far  
 proceeded, I went to Glasgow, to see my family and  
 friends, after sixteen month's absence; where, to my great  
 joy, I found all in health and welfare as I could wish;  
 your mother also, and sundry friends whom I saw, blessed  
 be God. I had left with sundry in the assembly to deal  
 for my abode at home; but there was no remeid; both of  
 us were ordained with diligence to go back; so all that  
 concerned myself in private and publick went according  
 to my mind. But for all this, my wine was incontinent  
 mixed with much wormwood from sundry sinister acci-  
 dents both in England and Scotland. The Independents,  
 with



with Mr Marshall's help, were very near to have carried, by canny conveyance of some propositions in the matter of church-censure, a fair and legal toleration of their way; but their legerdemain being perceived, was got crushed, to their small credit, and to the break-neck of that accommodation betwixt us and them, which was far advanced, but now, by their schismatick practices, is made desperate. Also the division of the Houses about the militia is great; for, however contrare to our expectation, the House of Lords have passed the ordinance for Sir Thomas Fairfax to be Generalissimo; yet it is against their mind, and there is great grumblings both in the houses and country, and especially in the armies, that spare not whiles openly to mutiny. This has caused the loss of Weymouth, and lets Hopeton and Goring do in the west what they will. Also Sir Thomas Fairfax leaving of Yorkshire, has given Langdale from Newark occasion to beat his father at Ferrybridge, and raise the siege of Pomfret, and, which is worst, has broke up the treaty. We were assured by Richmond and Southampton, that both the King and Queen were so disposed to peace, upon the great extremities wherein their affairs stood, and small hopes from any place to get them helped, that they would embrace the substance of all our propositions, with very small and tolerable modifications. This seemed to us not unlike. But the new divisions at London, and the great alterations in Scotland, has so far revived the malignity of the court, that they have returned to their old minds on new hopes, which, we trust in God, will shortly deceive them. The most debate in the treaty was on the point of Episcopacy, wherein, we hear, Mr Henderson has discharged himself to his great credit. However, nothing could be yielded. Bishops, books, and all, must stand; our covenant, directory, and all we have been doing, must be abolished; peace with Ireland is justified as honourable: so all must return to a bitter war. That which has been the great snare to the King, is the unhappy success of Montrose in Scotland. For however there be a beginning of a levy in France for the Queen, and many Irish are expected to land in Scotland and England, and the English divisions promise much to them; yet that which has blown them up most, is the unexpected success their designs in Scotland have had to this day. It seems to many wise men, that God has rained this snare on the court to avenge on them



their former practices. Matters on all hands were in that posture, that the King was on the point to have been restored to all in reason he could have desired; but now, on the foolish hopes of a most eminently wicked crew, to continue the miseries of all the three kingdoms, will engage, and make implacable, those who were panting for peace on any equitable terms. So when God has cast out these grasshoppers from Scotland, and broken the small remainders of that malignant party in England, what the next propositions may be which shall be treated on, he is wise who can conjecture; only it fears me, they be of a harder digestion than any yet named; or, so far as I know, yet thought upon. However, our present state here is thus: When the canniness of Rothes had brought in Montrose to our party, his more than ordinary and civil pride made him very hard to be guided. His first voyage to Aberdeen made him swallow the certain hopes of a generalissimo over all our armies. When that honour was put on Lefly, he incontinent began to deal with the King. And when we were at Dunse Law, had given assurance, and was in a fair way of performance, (had not the honesty and courage of Marishall preveened it), to have given over the whole north to the enemy. When our voyage to Newcastle came in hand, by his damnable band he thought to have sold us to the enemy. Thereafter he was ever on correspondence for our ruin. Allaster Macdonald was the smallest string in his bow, and a design which he least trusted in; but God resolving to humble us, who were beginning to swell with our great success in England, and, on base partialities, to be filled with emulations and factious heat-burnings, he would demean us with no more honourable rod. Some 1500 naked Scots Irish having leaped from life to life, till at last, getting away through Badeneck, they brake down on Strathern. The country-forces of Fife and Strathern were three to one well armed on Tippetmule, had horse and cannon: but the treachery of Kilpont, and especially Sir John Drummond, together with Elcho's rashness, delivered all that tumultuous people, and their arms, in the enemy's hand, without stroke. A great many burghesses were killed, twenty-five householders in St Andrew's, many were burthen in the fight, and died without stroke. At Aberdeen, 400 of the Fife soldiers well near routed the whole enemy; but being ill seconded by the burghesses of Aberdeen, they

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fled also. Marischal, and the gentry of the country, the Forbeses and Frasers, lay by as malecontent; Gordon, by Argyle's great mistake, having the commandment, whereof, through his own haughtiness, and treachery of his followers, he made no use at all. A great many Aberdeensmen were killed, and the town ill plundered. You heard what followed that strange courting, as I remember, thrice round about from Spey to Athol, wherein Argyle and Lothian's soldiers were tired out; the country, harassed by both, and no less by friends than foes, did nothing for their own defence.

Whether through envy and emulation, or negligence, or inability, Argyle's army was not relieved as it should, himself was much grieved, so that he laid down his commission; which neither Lothian nor Callendar, for any request, would take up; so Baillie was forced to take it, or it must have lien. In the mean time, the enemy, after this long storm, shoring to fall down on Glasgow, turned to Argyle, and went through it all without opposition; burnt Inverary, killed and spoiled what they pleased. The world believed, that Argyle could have been maintained against the greatest army, as a country inaccessible; but we see there is no strength or refuge on earth against the Lord. The Marquis did his best to be revenged, with an army sufficient overtook the rogues in Lochaber at Inverlochy. We hoped they might have been easily defeated; but, behold the indignation of the Lord! Argyle having a hurt in his arm and face, got by a casual fall from his horse some weeks before, whereby he was disabled to use either sword or pistol, his cousin Auchinbreck took the leading of his army. No appearance but of courage and success; yet no sooner did the enemy set on, but all our people, overtaken with a panick fear, without any necessity, turned backs, and fled. Auchinbreck, a stout soldier, but a very vicious man, and many special gentlemen of Argyle's friends, were killed. This disaster did extremely amaze us. I verily think, had Montrose come presently from that battle, he should have had no great opposition in all the highlands, in the Lennox, and the shieridom of Ayr, Glasgow, Clydesdale, scarce till he had come to Edinburgh. But God, in mercy to us, put other thoughts in his heart. He went incontinent northward; did what he pleased as far as Murray; got the Gordons, Grants, and many of the clans, to join. Seaforth also came to his camp. His hopes





hopes were, and we had reason to fear it, that having near the one half of Scotland in his power, he would, with a great army, march the high way southward.

Before this time our people did not well awake; our parliament had trifled much time in needless debates. Sir John Smith, and divers burgessees, had debated too much for their own ends upon the excise. Lindsay by the burrows, to please the Treasurer, was made President, in Lauderdale's place, whom the stone had removed, to our great loss and regret. He was not so able to dispatch business. Emulations, and heart-burnings about particulars, hindered much our affairs in a most dangerous time. The country was exceedingly exhausted with burdens; and, which was worst, a careless stupid lethargy had seized on the people, so that we were brought exceedingly low. In this lamentable condition, we took ourselves to our old rock; we turned ourselves to God. The assembly sent out a printed warning to the country, very well penned by Mr Gillespie. We wrote a free admonition to the parliament, of their jealousies and divisions; which, although it took not away the root, yet did it felled many of the branches, of the evils complained of. Baillie was enabled to move, and written to by the assembly; Marischal also. All was put in the best posture might be. The parliament was adjourned, that the war might the better be followed. And in this case left I Scotland, with a heart full of perplexities.

You know how graciously the Lord brought me through the seas. The storm, a little before, had been so extraordinary, that many here thought we had been cast away. When we came from you, we were exceeding welcome; but found our affairs in an exceeding ill posture, the credit of our nation impaired, sensible neglects and real grounds of complaint daily offended us in many occurrences private and publick, that would have tempted greater wisdom and patience than was national to us: yet we resolved to go on as we might, waiting when God would blink upon Scotland; for we knew, as God helped us there, our affairs here would amend. It was a matter of exceeding joy unto us, to hear of the great and first real disaster that Montrose got at Dundee, and of the posture of our country at last, according to our mind, after the flight of the enemy, the killing of 400 or 500 of the best of the Irish, the dissipating of the most of the Scots high-

landmen,



landmen, the loss of their ammunition and most of their arms, the returning of the remnant to the hills and woods. Baillie, with one half of the army, is gone to Athol, to keep them from that starting hold. Hurry, with the other half, with Marischal and the north country, is towards Aberdeen. Lawers, and the Murraymen, are to keep in another turn. Argyle, with a regiment of his own, and 1500 from Ireland, are to the highlands. So, by God's help, in a little time, we hope to get such order of these our troublers, that Scotland shall be in peace, and send back the soldiers now it makes use of, with such increase, that Leslie, with a better army than yet he has commanded, shall march over Trent, and Monro to Connaught and Munster. The English look on us already much more cheerfully than of late. We pity their rash and unadvised feebleness; and yet, thanks to God, we have been constant to do all duties to them; in the midst of all their ingratitude and provocations, we resolve they will, by our actions, see at last their obligation to us.

Their new-modelled army consists, for the most, of raw, unexperienced, pressed soldiers. Few of the officers are thought capable of their places; many of them are sectaries, or their confident friends: if they do great service, many will be deceived. Some have great fears, not only of their designs to strengthen the party of the sectaries, so that it may not safely be displeased; but also of composing with the King, to the prejudice of us and all our friends here: yet I hope these fears are groundless. Sundry wise men whom I speak with, believe that the new army is not so full of sectaries as is said; and however, are assured of their honesty and obedience to the parliament; also if any disaster should befall them, which we, with our daily prayers, do heartily deprecate, they hope that our army, well recruited from Scotland, and much strengthened by a multitude of good officers, which partly have left, partly are put out of the English army, shall by God's help, be enabled to do their business, and settle peace here ere it be long.

We heave great toil here in the church-business. We are on the point of setting up presbyteries and synods in London; but all the ports of hell are opened upon us. Of these things ye shall hear an account with the next occasion; for now I am weary with writing, though the most of this letter was written before I left Scotland.—We all  
love



love Thomas Cunningham, and are doing for him what we can. The theses of Voetius, you have beside you, and Spanheim against the Anabaptists, send me. It hath been a mighty neglect that no man hath answered Erastus's Reply to Beza. The most of the House of Commons are downright Erastians: they are like to create us much more woe than all the sectaries of England. If you would set Apollonius, or Voetius, or Rivet, or Spanheim, when he has done with Amiran, or all of them, to write against Erastus, it would be a great service to us and the Reformed churches also; only it would be done well and satisfactorily, and also speedily; both which I fear be impossible. L'Emperour promised to write against Selden, for the Jewish ecclesiastical Sanhedrim, and their excommunication. This man is the head of the Erastians: his glory is most in the Jewish learning; he avows every where, that the Jewish state and church were all one, and that so in England it must be, that the parliament is the church. L'Emperour is well able to beat down the insolent absurdity of the man with his own arms; and, if he would do it quickly, it were a very good office to us and to all the Reformed churches. Do what you can, by your friends, to put him on. Send me no books by the post, as John Henderson did the last week; for the pamphlet I bought in Rotterdam for six stivers, Mr Gillespie behoved to give the post for it five shillings. My service to your good wife, and to Apollonius. My only regret and Mr Gillespie's both, is, that we saw him not in Middleburg. It was only Mr Gillespie's wilfulness, which he acknowledges out of time. At last farewell, I rest,

Your Cousin,

JAMESONE.

94. *A Publick Letter. London, April 25. 1645.*

AFFAIRS here stand thus, so far as I understand. The assembly hath now, I may say, ended the whole body of the church-government, and that according to the doctrine and practice of the church of Scotland, in every thing material. We have been these two or three weeks on additional propositions, which seemed to be wanting for the making of the rest practicable and perfect; these also we have ended, except one or two, which I trust at



our next session we shall pass. There will then remain no more for the government, but the methodizing and word-ing of these matters, that they may be transmitted to the houses of parliament for their authority. The catechism, and Confession of Faith, are put in the hands of several committees, and some reports are made to the assembly concerning both. We expect not so much debate upon these, as we have had in the directory and government. The Independents, these six weeks, have not much troubled the assembly; for after we had been a long time troubled with their opposition to all things, it was found meet to put them to declare their mind positively what they would be at. This they have shifted to this day, as it was thought not fully agreeing among themselves; but now being put peremptorily to it, they could not get it declined. Since, they have been about that task, and we expect daily when they shall present to us their platform of church-government. The assembly purposes not to take it into publick debate, but to give it to some committee that they may frame an answer to it, if so it be found convenient. The Houses have past of our votes of government, purposing quickly to erect the ecclesiastical courts, of sessions, presbyteries, and synods, and thereafter to pass so much of our government as they think necessary. We will have much to do with them to make sundry of our votes pass; for most of their lawyers are strong Erastians, and would have all the church-government depend absolutely on the parliament: for this end they have past a vote in the House of Commons, for appeals from sessions to presbyteries, from these to synods, from these to national assemblies, and from these to the parliament. We mind to be silent for some time on this, lest we mar the erection of the ecclesiastick courts; but when we find it seasonable, we mind to make much ado before it go so. We are hopeful to make them declare, they mean no other thing, by their appeals from the national assembly to a parliament, than a complaint of an injurious proceeding; which we never denied.

As for other business, this long time the reputation of our nation hath been much lower than before. The last-ing troubles, which a handful of Irish hath brought upon our whole land, was the beginning of our disgrace. The much-talked of weakness of our army in England did add unto it: our necessity to lie upon the northern shires, almost exhausted by the King's army before, and their daily





outries of our oppression, made it to increase. But that which highly advanced it, is our delay to march southward, after all their importunate calls. These things have made us here almost contemptible, and this contempt hath occasioned jealousy and provocations, which may, if not provided for, prove dangerous. Upon their jealousy they cast their old armies in a new mould, and left out the most, both of our nation, and of our friends in their own nation, and put in divers sectaries, who much increased our malecontentment. Our commissioners have not been wanting in all that diligence, prudence, and patience could work. All who are wise, finds the union of the nations necessary for both their subsistence, and whoever would brangle it are most unhappy instruments; but there is no human means for us, were we all angels, to keep our reputation, and the hearts of the people, but by strengthening our army. Many advertisements hereof hath been given from time to time to Scotland, but all in vain hitherto. Had it been provided that we might have marched with 20,000 men, we might quickly have got here all we desired. If it hath been the design of any, to keep the enemy at home on foot, that so our army in England might be made weak and for little service, I vow they have been the basest traitors that ever Scotland bred. Beside all that is come out of Ireland, and all raised in the country, there are, we hear, eight regiments of foot, and some of horse, brought home out of England, and not one man sent in their place. All who love either the honour or safety of our nation wish this amended. None need to talk of any sickleness or ingratitude of the English towards us, of any advancement of the Independent party; for no man here doubts, but if once our army were in such a condition, as easily, if we were diligent, might be, all these clouds would vanish, and we would regain this people's hearts, and do with all sectaries, and all things else, what we would: but if quickly we take no course to send back the English regiments, and recruit what is wanting of their due number, our hazards are great and present. The King, with Rupert and Maurice, are north by this as far as Chester. Many suspect his intention is for our army, knowing its weakness, and malevolence of the thires wherein it lies. Our officers are doing what they can to prepare for the worst, and the commissioners here are doing their utmost endeavours to  
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get provisions and forces also sent to them; but the only remedy, under God, is forces from Scotland. We have men in abundance: they will be allowed entertainment on the country, and in time they will not want a groat of their pay, though for the present it cannot be had. We hear also, that by no means will come to the army any ministers; that in twenty-two regiments there is not one minister: so this day's letters bear. This is a wonderful lethargy, and if God help it not, it prognosticates strange things; but our eyes are towards God, waiting when he will arise for us. We know many godly hearts there join with us in daily praying that God would crush that unhappy enemy at home, and give us wisdom in time to supply our English army, to send up to it the best of our ministers, and a strong honest committee; for in these days there is great need of faithful and incorruptible men. In many discouragements we have here, we are comforted with the good progress we make in the matters of God, and good appearances we see to get the naughty enemy at home shortly crushed: if we could, in faith, draw near to God, he would make his work run apace, and hasten the confusion of all its opposites, in whatever way, whether secret or open, and discover villanous underminers.

The Turk still menaces Italy. The Swedes and Transilvanians are like to undo the Emperor. Denmark is plagued with the Swedes; their treaty is broken. The Bavarian's victory over the French was great; but now the French are set on their feet again by the help of the Hessians, and a new army from France. The French on the one side, and the Hollanders on the other, are on their march against Flanders. The French ambassador, and most of the nation, at the King's command, have left Rome, to declare their discontent with the Pope for his siding with Spain.

You see, in my publick, the best side of our affairs. The church-matters go well, blessed be God; but truly our state-matters are in a very dangerous posture. This people's jealousy, contempt, and injurious provocations, daily increase. The King is bending toward our army, which is called exceeding weak, evil provided, and discontent. You there have been wonderful ill-advised, that what soldiers you took from it, you sent not plowmen or others in their room. If quickly you reinforce them not



with men and honest ministers, in a clap you have the King and all the north of England on your back. If it should be so, there is no help to be expected from this; for here they are so wise, as to let all their army lie down before Oxford, when the King is going where he will. In this they are peremptor. Our strait is great, and we had never more need to run to God. If matters be not past helping before this come to you, there is great need of supply to the English army. It were much better fighting the King in Yorkshire than in Lothian. However Montrose and the Independents have brought us to this pass; yet if it be God's pleasure to make you able and willing, after all your neglects, to supply the army in England, all in a short time will flow according to our mind; but if you be unable or unwilling, for whatsoever cause, to do this, we were never in a greater and more present hazard. Our fears here who know how things go, are great; yet we dare not think that God will desert his people and cause. Too much glory hath been spent on us these seven last years to be so easily lost. We must return to our old rock.

95. *For Mr Robert Ramsay. May 4. 1645.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I long to hear from you. I have got some from Mr David and Mr George, but none from you. I shall have a care of your memorandum. How matters go with you in the town I know not. The lamentable losses you have still by the hand of that wicked enemy, and the increase of the pestilence, together with the great security we hear yet to lie on the hearts of the most, make clear such a measure of the wrath and desertion of God, that oftentimes fads our hearts exceedingly: and however the affairs of the church, which is our task, go according to our mind; yet the great danger of the state, wherein the foolish and malicious counsels of some few here has cast it, and whether the not marching of our army, upon what causes we yet much doubt, has contributed not a little; these things have made our lives here for a time very bitter to us. We see no remeid but in God's mercy, and blessing of our army. If this people had prospered in  
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their way of exceeding folly and ingratitude, it might have proven shortly very hurtful to themselves and us both; but now a little discipline makes them begin to enquire about the authors of these disasters and fearful dangers wherein they stand, and look back on their old deliverers, whom they were begun too much to forget. If the Lord will be pleased to uphold our army, I believe we shall close all church-affairs shortly according to our mind, and easily call in the wantonness of the sectaries; but the Lord save us from the rage of the roaring malignants, and their crafty counsels, of which we are much afraid. God save our army, and make all therein so pious, and honest, and wise, as our present dangers require. Coll-Kettoch's and Montrose's troubles are little to these that are coming, if God should not bless this much decreased and enfeebled army. Prayer, counsel, and activity, were never more requisite among you. We have done the utmost of our endeavours, both here and to our friends at Edinburgh, and with the army, to give warning and advice. Remember my service to your two colleagues, also to the Principal, to Mr Edward, and Mr Hugh, to the regents, and to the brethren of the presbytery, and whoever mind, in their prayers, the work in hand, your neighbour Mr Zachary and his wife: but I must break off. Diodati you shall get: neither the English nor Dutch notes are yet come out. Pamphlets I will send you none, there are so many, and I cannot chuse; for I have some hundreds to myself, all which shall be for you and your brethren.

Our hearts are much grieved for the great troubles of Scotland, that the Lord is yet pleased to strike us so fore both with the sword and pestilence. Oh! if at last we could awake, and turn to him, who by all these means is seeking our repentance and sanctification. We cannot but see the loving countenance of a father in the midst of all that wrath. Church-work here, blessed be God, goes on with less difficulty than it was wont. The assembly having put the Independents to shew what positively is their judgement in things controverted, we have been quit of their cumber these six or seven weeks. Every day this month we have been expecting their positive tenets, but as yet we have heard nothing of them; only in their sermons in the city they are deviating more and more towards old and new errors, especially liberty of conscience. Their ways are daily more and more disliked. The directory is so far  
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from being cried down, as fools say there, that there is an ordinance of parliament coming out for the practice of it, if it be not changed, that I will be caution few shall dare to contemn, either that whole book, or any part of it. We have these fourteen days been upon our advice to a subcommittee of the House of Commons, anent the execution of our votes of government: for it is the work of that subcommittee to draw two ordinances; the one, for the practice of the directory, wherein their punishment is as rigorous, if it be not mitigated, for the contemners of any part of that book, as it was before to the contemners of their religion. For preachers, or writers, or publishers, against it, were they Dukes and Peers, their third fault is the loss of all their goods, and perpetual imprisonment. The other ordinance is for the erection of ecclesiastick courts over the whole kingdom. For their help herein, they called the ministers of London to advise them for their city, and they sent to the assembly for their advice anent the rest of the kingdom. The city-ministers have sent them their unanimous advice (for of 121 city-ministers, there are not three Independents) for planting, just after our Scottish fashion, an eldership in every congregation; of fourteen presbyteries within the lines of communication, every one consisting of ministers betwixt twelve and sixteen, and also many ruling elders; and of a provincial synod for London and ten miles round about. The assembly have presented their advice this day. We went through this forenoon-session unanimously what concerns provincial and national assemblies, as yesterday what concerned presbyteries, and the days before congregational elderships. They have concluded provincial synods twice a-year, presbyteries once a-month, and national assemblies once a-year; and after, every one of these as it shall be needful. Herein the greatness of this nation forces them to differ from us with our good liking. Their provincial assemblies cannot consist of all the ministers, but of so many delegated from every presbytery; for in fundry of their provinces will be above 600 churches, which would make at least 1200 members in a provincial synod: also their national assembly is constitute of three ministers and two ruling elders, deputed, not from every presbytery, but as it is in France and Holland, from every provincial synod, whereof there will be at least sixty. We shortly expect an ordinance according to our advice, and  
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the execution presently upon the back of it. Our next work will be the Confession and Catechism, upon both which we have already made some entrance. The matters of the estate were in a worse condition; but now I hope they are recovering. These that guide here, having easily raised the siege of they thought meet to be-  
 siege Oxford; making account, that our army, with the forces to be joined with them, were more than able to have marred the King's progress whithersoever he should turn. But our army not being accommodated in provisions for a long march; and also not very well content that their chief army should in the time of action lie down before Oxford, which was impossible to be taken for many months; and being informed by Sir William Brereton, that the King's purpose was to come to Lancashire, and from thence to send Prince Maurice to Scotland with a party of horse, himself and Prince Rupert having recruited his army in Lancashire and Yorkshire to come back on the associations: on these and the like motives, our army thought it meet to march back towards Westmoreland, to be in the King's way at the foot of Lancashire, for the safeguard of Scotland, and the besiegers of Carlisle. This our march, and that their siege of Oxford, gave the King fair liberty to march where he would, to raise the siege of Chester, to take the town of Colchester by storm, and to become terrible both to Yorkshire and the associations, or whithersoever he should go. Hence a great clamour of all here, first against our army, and then more against the authors of the model, and of the unhappy siege of Oxford. We excused our army the best we could. We obtained to it all we could desire; free quarters on billet where-ever it came; an ordinance for pay as to any of their own armies; an ordinance for all the northern forces to join, and of 4000 horse and dragoons to be constantly with them, and under their command; also the besiegers of Oxford to rise and follow the King; and intreaties to us to march south in so great a need, with assurance to send a party of English and Scots horse stronger than any the King could send towards Carlisle or Scotland. Here-upon we sent Daniel Carmichael post to our army, to haste them back from Westmoreland; and to-morrow we send down Mr Kennedy and Mr Gillespie for that same end. We hear they are already on their way towards Yorkshire to our great joy; for truly we have had eight days as sad  
hearts



hearts as any living men. Upon the success of that army, all here think the whole affairs of Britain doth depend. It is all the pities in the world, that it should have been so much neglected; that for so many months there should not have been three able ministers into it; not a committee at all; that beside the seven regiments which were in Scotland, the rest were decreased to shameful numbers, without any recruits at all. If any love the cause in hand, or desire either Scotland or England to be preserved from quick ruin, let that army be provided for with all diligence; for if it be but a little neglected, this people will faint, and be over-mastered. The King's whole strength will be upon that army, and their weakness quickly will draw the heat of the war into Scotland. As yet the parliament's forces are entire. If our army march quickly, they will have 4000 or 500 horse to join with them, and a great army to follow the King's rear; if they delay, they must stand alone. However, you cannot be answerable to God, if you do not your best quickly to send up an able minister to every regiment, and at least one half-dozen of the most gracious, wise, and courageous ministers of the kingdom: for that is the head of the business; and where-ever that army is, Scotland, and the Protestant party of this isle, must be saved or lost. Also a full, able, and honest, committee of nobles, gentry, and barons, must be there. Their absence has been extremely prejudicial; and if it be continued, may prove fatal. Also it were exceeding requisite, that the regiments were recruited with 5000 or 6000 foot. I believe, upon the tuck of drum men would be gotten, if the great necessity were demonstrated; also if it were believed, which is verily truth, that every soldier will get meat his fill, much more than at home, and for the present some money monthly; and if God bless but a very little, fair rewards. If by any means we would get these our regiments, which are called near thirty, to 16,000 marching men, by the blessing of God, in a short time, we might ruin both the malignant party and the sectaries. The only strength of both these is the weakness of our army. The strength, motion, and success of that army, in the opinion of all here, is their certain and quick ruin; wherefore we must testify, before God and the world, that if any among you, of what degree soever, either upon private designs and emulation, or our sottish careless stupidity, or backward thrawart malecontentment, do contri-



bute for the keeping the army of England in a weak condition, that they are cursed traitors to God and their poor suffering country, and to the whole Protestant cause, that is on the very point of great success, if God be with us; of a great disaster, if God be tempted by mens either treachery, or sottish negligence, to leave that poor army. These that can do no more, I hope will pray; and that truly is much, and the most; for it is the Lord that puts wisdom and courage in the hearts of foolish people, and who takes away, when he is not fought, wisdom and courage from the most valiant and wise. Any discourtesy that has been put on any of our nation, or any clamour has been made against us, we need not care for it: for if it please God to assist us but a little, to be at this time serviceable, not so much to defend this people in their present danger, as to fight for Scotland in the midst of their land, at their charge, and with all the assistance they can make us, we may be assured of satisfaction for any wrong in word or deed that any of our friends pretend to have received, and the full payment of all any can crave, beside all the contentment we can desire of them in any matter either of church or state. But if at this time we draw back, or if it should be God's will not to assist us, all our bygone labours are lost: but this we will not fear. The rash and imprudent courses of these who have miscarried matters for a time, becomes now palpable when they come to be executed. Some losses got already, and more feared, are likely to prove happy, by opening the eyes of many to see their error, and to return, albeit a little too late, to a wiser way. It is our only desire to have the favour of God, and to hear of the speedy march of our army. The enemy is more wicked and cruel than ever. It is a wonder if God revenge not their barbarous inhumanities. If their carriage have been, as we hear, at Leicester, they cannot go long unpunished.

96. To Mr William Spang.

—The condition of our church-affairs is good. We are at a point with the government, and beginning to take the Confession of Faith and Catechism to our consideration. These eight days we have been on our advice for the manner of chusing of elders in every congregation,





and division of the country into presbyteries and provincial synods. We hope now shortly, by God's help, to see a synod and fourteen presbyteries in London, and a session in every church, just after the Scots fashion. But other matters are in a dangerous posture. Hurry and Montrose have fought a most bloody battle. We have, they say, 1000 killed on the place, and he near as many, of the best of his men; but he had the best, so far as we hear. Baillie, with the body of our army, came shortly after to Spey. Our fear is, that Montrose escape to the hills, and still keep our country in trouble. The pest increases in Edinburgh, and divers other places. Our army here is in a present disorder. The King went from Oxford northwards. It was our much-pressed advice, that their army might follow him, and ours might meet him. The authors of the new model were peremptory to lay their army down before Oxford, and have our army, with a good part of their horse, joined, to march against the King. While this is expected, and our army on their way southward as far as Rippon, on a sudden, upon a letter from Sir William Brereton, that the King was to march through Lancashire, and so into Scotland, either himself, or Prince Maurice, with a party of horse, arose with diligence, turned backwards to Westmoreland to stop the King's passage. They here (conscious to themselves of manifold needless provocations given both to that army, and to many persons of our nation) fear this march to have somewhat of malecontentment into it. We hope it is nothing so; for indeed we have no scruple from any of them what they mean by it; but to-morrow they are to send an express, to try how all goes. However, this puts all their affairs in a great perplexity. The King has turned from Lancashire towards Newark. Some fear the associations, and some Yorkshire. In neither is any sufficient strength to oppose him. The huge imprudence and rashness of the new model is now visible. All that it can attain to, when the besiegers and Cromwell, and the party in the west, and with his northern party, are joined, will be within 14,000, horse and foot, many of them new levied, and ill commanded. They wish now they had made more of us, and are on ways of amending former neglects. If it please God to bring up our army in time, all will be well; however, their long delay is much regretted, and marvelled at. For Mr Eleazar Gilbert,

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what we wrote was on our best information, and some experience of the man, whom we have heard preach, and have been satisfied with his conference, and some of his printed treatises, both Latin and English. We never heard of any such thing as you are informed of; but howsoever, since you are so informed, we think it no way expedient to send him over to you. If that regiment vaik, I think Mr D. Dickson could send you one of his scholars, who would serve you well; one Mr Robert Auld, if he be not yet provided, would in my mind be very fit for such a condition. Mr Henderson recommended Mr Hume to Mr Forbes; but most upon your cousin, Mr David Buchanan, a most honest and worthy man's testimony, whom I shall cause write to you the next week what he knows of the man; to me he is a mere stranger. It is certain your two ambassadors did all the time of their abode here carry themselves as industrious agents for the King. I hear there is come to your estates before this a publick declaration of the proceedings with us. I fear we cannot send an ambassage so soon over as we would. The Erastian party in the parliament is stronger than the Independent, and is like to work us much woe. Selden is their head. If L'Emperour would beat down that man's arrogance, as he very well can, to shew, out of the Rabbins, that the Jewish state was diverse from their church, and that they held the censure of excommunication among them, and a double Sanhedrim, one civil, another ecclesiastick; if he would confound him with Hebrew testimonies; it would lay Selden's vanity, who is very insolent for his Oriental literature. Also if any of you would meddle with Erasmus, whom Beza, they say, durst never answer, it would do us a great deal of good. I have sent you over one of Mr David's books; if you can make a bargain for him there, it will be a great encouragement to him. Mr Rutherford has sent you over six of his books to be distribute according to his letter. Thus far I had written the last week, but it missed the post; you have for recompence, here inclosed, what I wrote to Scotland this week. We are still in perplexity for the not marching of our army. In the taking of Leicester, our loss was not so great as we supposed at first. Only the half of our officers were there; few of them are killed; the rest got quarter, whereof we are glad. The King is marching thitherward. He is thought to be as far as Northampton.



## 97. For David Dickson. June 10. 1645.

1. You would remonstrate, that the Independents treating with Oxford is under trial, and that it is suspected it flows from their practice with the Queen by Harry Perry, of which we have been oft advertised.

2. You would remonstrate, that this is the party whose principles, and known constant carriage, is to settle the state, without any King at all; and so they are for the ruin of the whole royal family.

3. Beside, their dealing is utterly disliked by the body of the English, and the whole Scots. The Queen's entertaining of them will make her the more irreconcilable with the rest of both nations.

4. You would assure the Queen's dealing with that party is to put the King in his old posture, to be guided by Digby and the Spanish faction; to have dependence on the Papists and sectaries, who have need of liberty to be in a perpetual jealousy with the rest of his subjects, who mind the ruin of the Austrians, the setting up of the Palatine, and the interest of France.

5. That the discovery of the Independents negotiation at Paris or Oxford, with a great furtherance to settle a firm peace in a more solid way than the Independents intend, or can attain, for the good of the King and his allies; and above all, for the interest of France against Austria and Spain.

6. That William Murray cannot do better service, than to search and communicate what can be found of these negotiations, that whoever of the French can contribute any thing for this, they will further much the conjunction of these kingdoms among themselves and with France; otherwise these unhappy men may deceive the King, and, for their own ends alone, draw him to particular treaties, which may ruin his kingdoms, or destroy his family, to which they are no friends; or at least put him in his old condition, to reign, but hated by his people, and necessitate to be guided by the counsels of the Popish and Spanish party.



98. For Mr Cranford. June 17. 1645.

1. INFORM me where our army is. See what they will do if Fairfax be beat, or what if Cromwell be victor, if at this nick of extreme danger they should not put their forces in a posture.

2. Only Essex is able, and may get officers. Our three Majors are going, and on small conditions, if loving, may be kept. They will get abundance of officers. By this means you join the hearts of the nations, which, by the Independents craft, you have near broke asunder; you make yourself able to stand till the Scots army come up and join, or you may be considerable for treating; also you put yourself in that case, that you may not be enslaved by the Independents, but may be their masters; you may capitulate so with Essex, that he be not able to betray you.

3. How will you put on the ordinance for government, that else will linger? How will you provide Burton's and Goodwin's church? And if there be any more Independents, good they were removed by the parliament before the presbytery were erected.

4. What encouragement so hastened Bastwick Edwards to print Borough's Sermons, and his own Tractates? also the other books against libertines?

5. How this plot, of capitulating with Oxford, may be found out?

99. For my Lord Lauderdale. Worcester-house, June 17. 1645.

My Lord,

WE were all glad of your safe arrival. We have had great missing of you here already. Your presence was never more necessary here than at this time. How all goes, you may see in the inclosed packet, which I have left open for your Lordship's reading. You will close it, and send it to Glasgow with the first clean hand. We have been in a peck of troubles, many of us, these days bygone. Mr Henderson kept his chamber from Thursday to this day: a languishing but not sharp pain of the gravel troubled him. Mr Kennedy and Mr Gillespie are not yet returned





turned from the army. I hope their labours there have been happy. A pity they had not gone a month ago, that some part of the late victory might have been ours. How little are we obliged to the unhappiness of some men ! I have also been much fashed in my own mind upon this occasion. An intercepted letter of my Lord Digby's bore expressly the offer of propositions to the King. As my custom was, I made a visit to Mr Cranford ; in the end we fell to speak of that letter in a free and friendly way. I was not well gone from him, till in the Exchange he falls out very rashly and imprudently to comment upon that letter, and to say little less than some members of both Houses were banqueting with the King. Some of the Independents overhearing it, presently complain of it to the committee of both kingdoms. Harry Vane and the Solicitor exaggerate the matter, and report it to the House of Commons. They sent for poor Mr Cranford, and examined him at their bar for some hours, and referred him after to a committee of Lords and Commons to free himself. He gives me up as informer of much in his discourse, in a paper under his hand ; which the committee gave to our commissioners, not requiring any answer \*. Yet, in duty, I thought meet to give this inclosed answer to our commissioners, which, at my desire, was this afternoon given in to the committee of both kingdoms ; and I think it will satisfy, and no more will be of this matter. Yet when you read my paper, you may see what need there is of you here. Keep it to yourself, for I desire no speech of it. There is a second part of my persecution come out this day worse than the first. My Lord Fairfax sent up, the last week,

\* Mr Cranford's information of my speeches to him is as follows. " He told me, that there was a letter intercepted, intimating some propositions sent to the King, and a committee of seven Lords and fourteen Commons appointed to examine and search out the author ; and said, that if the matter were thoroughly examined, much might be done ; and said, that suspicion fell very hard upon three Lords and some Commons, whom he named ; and that one of the Lords had named another of the House of Commons as to be suspected to have hand in such propositions ; but he more suspected the former, as having more opportunity to send and receive intelligence from Oxford than any other, because they were a subcommittee unto which, though the Lord Wariston, and another of their commissioners, and Mr John Caux, were added, they were never yet called to any business. He desired these things might be imparted to some citizens ; for it was convenient that petition should be made, that this business might be thoroughly examined."



an horrible Antitristian; the whole assembly went in a body to the Houses to complain of his blasphemies. It was the will of Cromwell, in the letter of his victory, to desire the House not to discourage these who had ventured their lives for them, and to come out expressly with their much-desired liberty of conscience. You will see the letter in print, by order, as I think, of the Houses. You have here also the last fifty of Mr Rouse's psalms. They would be sent to Edinburgh to the committee for the psalms. Mr And. Ker will deliver them. When your Lordship goes thither, you would stir up that committee to diligence; for now the want of the psalms will lie upon them alone; for if once their animadversions were come up, I believe the book would quickly be printed and practised here. I know how lazy soever, and tediously longsome, they be here, yet that they will be impatient of any long delay there in this work. If ever ye did God or your country, or the whole isle, service in your life, haste up these recruits to our army. There is no other way to make the King take reason in patience, also to bridle the insolency of wicked men. If we settle affairs here, Montrose will melt like a snail. Let them be marked with infamy to all posterity, who are not honest to their heart-roots at this time. I avow he is not worthy to breathe in Scots air who has not compassion on that much-distressed country. Your Lordship will not only be a witness to men, but also a physician to the diseased, and a pedagogue to those that will not be schooled by others. All withdrawing of heart or hand now, upon whatever provocation, is villanous treachery, and a betraying of their poor dying mother-country. No imaginable mean so good for attaining all intentions as real honesty. All pultrons will be discovered and perith. My Lord, make haste hither, for I tell you there is great need of you here. We must wrestle a fall with some kind of creatures before our covenant be abolished. But truly, if we could make haste to do our duty, I believe, with little ado, we should persuade many to be reasonable. You may see, my Lord, I am the old man. My service to your kind lady, and to yourself, so long as you remain honest, but not an hour longer. So I rest, &c.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

My Lord Irvine, this day, took a fit of an apoplexy: it is thought he cannot live.



100. *To the Right Honourable the Commissioners of the kingdom of Scotland, by Mr Baillie.*

YOUR Lordships having communicate to me a paper concerning some passages of a late discourse of mine, with a Reverend minister of the city, I have thought meet to acquit myself, by giving you the true and simple account thereof, to be made use of as you shall find most expedient.

I acknowledge, that on Tuesday the 10th of June, I made a visit to Mr Cranford, as often we had mutually done before, being very confident and intimate friends ever since our first acquaintance. I profess I did not consult with any living man about that my visit, neither did I acquaint any with the purposes we discoursed upon, till I had heard he was publickly challenged. I also profess, that notwithstanding of any importance might be in the matters we were to speak of, which oft was great enough, yet I had no particular design with him at that more than at other times; for it was ever our custom, when we met, to discourse freely, as familiar friends, and lovers of the publick, of the affairs of church and state, according as our particular occasions gave us intelligence.

At that time our meeting was but about an hour; for before I entered his house, I told eleven, and when I returned, I told upon the water twelve from some clocks.

We spent more than the first half-hour upon the ways of settling the church-government, which now at last, by God's mercy, was well nigh fully and finally agreed upon in the assembly. This, in all our meetings, was the principal part of our discourse; for the continuance of so many years of a total anarchy in the church did burden both our spirits, we conceiving it to be a fountain-evil, and an evident cause of the loss of many thousand souls, seduced, so far as we could judge, irrecoverably, to pernicious heresies and schisms.

Thereafter we fell to speak of another point, which I confess was the chief cause of my visit that day. The week before, my Reverend brother had called me out of the assembly, to understand if your Lordships had disclaimed the late printed paper, intituled the *Scots manifesto*. I told him, though ye understood nothing either of the

preface



preface, or title, or printing of it; yet the paper itself you did not disclaim, being the same, word by word, which you had lately given in to the Houses. I said also, that in my judgement no good man could be discontent with that paper; for it reflected upon no man's person, neither did it contain any thing but a mere vindication of the Scots army from the injurious aspersions, which, for a long time, without all cause, had lien upon it.

I did also communicate unto him the anxiety of my mind for the present posture of affairs; Goring and Hopton appearing to be the stronger in the west; the King marching southward with an advantage from Leicester; thought our danger very great if any cross accident should befall Sir Thomas Fairfax, which in my most earnest prayers I intreated God to avert. My Reverend brother told me, that the county of Essex and the city of London were upon ways for raising great forces for our defence if any unexpected accident should require them; my chief errand therefore with him, that following Tuesday, was, to understand the fruit of these consultations for the quieting my own perplexed mind. He told me, that these counsels were still on foot, albeit now they seemed not so necessary as before; for he had learned from some who had lately come from the army, that the King was neither in a condition nor mind to fight, till he had got more forces from the west. Of this I was very joyful; trusting, that before any considerable party could come to the King from the west, the Scots army might be upon his back; and so, by God's help, that wicked army of malignants should easily be brought to an end; the English and Scots army making it their only strife who should be most forward, first to bring down the common enemy, and thereafter to embrace one another in love, for the settling of these much-troubled kingdoms in a solid and everlasting amity.

Having spoken of these and sundry other purposes at length, a little, and but a little, before my Reverend brother was called to dinner, we came to speak of the purpose in the paper. Finding that he had not heard of my L. Digby's letter, I told him what I knew of it, and withal my opinion that it deserved an accurate trial; for to me it seemed to hold out clearly, that there were some here that kept such correspondence with the King as to offer him propositions. I conceived none would dare to





take so much on them, who were not either very powerful amongst us, or very foolish.

Hereupon, as oft at other times, being intimate friends, in a private conference, we took the liberty, which is known to be ordinary in these times among such as affect the publick, to speak of divers names, who, as many thousands do know, though they agree in the end, the welfare of the church and kingdom, as lines in the centre, yet they differ in their opinion about the middles to that end, as the same lines in the circumference: but that I did lay the framing of the propositions upon any of the persons names, I do utterly deny, neither doth the paper lay so much upon me.

I said, indeed, that a noble Lord of the House of Peers had said, that my L. Savile had averred to a certain lady, that a noble gentleman of the House of Commons did keep weekly correspondence with my Lord Digby, which I took for a great untruth. I said also, that I heard of a subcommittee appointed by the committee of both kingdoms, to treat concerning the rendering of garrisons to the parliament, and bringing over any of the enemy's forces, which at first was not observed by any of the Scots commissioners, and for a time none of them were named to be of that subcommittee; and afterward, when some of them were added to it, they were never called to any meeting, nor acquainted with the proceedings of that subcommittee, till after my L. Digby's letter was intercepted, and brought to the committee of both kingdoms; though the rendering of Oxford, and the coming over of Goring, with his forces, were in agitation, betwixt one of that subcommittee and my Lord Savile, whom many do think to have kept so great correspondence with Oxford, all the time since his coming hither, that I did esteem all privacy with him not to be so fair as I could have wished: but that I did fasten the suspicion of framing the foresaid propositions on that honourable member of the subcommittee, or that I required any one word of what I had spoken concerning that subcommittee to be communicate to any living soul, I do expressly deny, neither doth the paper assert it. I grant, indeed, it was my desire to have Digby's letter tried to the uttermost, conceiving it to contain matters very dangerous to both nations; but for the particular ways of furthering that trial, I being a stranger, could not but be ignorant of them. I heard of the city's frequent



quent petitioning the Houses for matters that seemed to me of less importance. Therefore, if in a convenient way, they would have been moved to petition for this, I thought it would not be amiss. My Reverend brother told me, that in the afternoon some of the common council were to meet with a committee of the House of Commons, about money for Taunton; and that he would inform some of them about Digby's letter, that they might desire the gentlemen of the House, with whom they met, to look after that business. To this I acquiesced: and that Captain Jones, or any other whom my Reverend brother thought fit, should be spoken to for this end, I did not disallow; but that any other part of our discourse, except that of my Lord Digby's letter, which was then the talk of thousands, should be communicate to any whosoever, or that even this much should go to any as from me, and in my name, to my best memory I heard nothing at all; but truly, had I suspected any such thing, I know that very earnestly I would have deprecated it by all the laws of friendship.

This I have set down as my memory can furnish the chief matters that past betwixt us; but the formal end and positive words, as in a familiar converse, whereby I did not expect to be called to an account, I cannot confidently report.

I confess to me it seems very strange, that at these times of so great liberty, when so many go away without the least censure, with their horrible railings against whole churches and nations, and them of our dearest brethren; yet my private discourse to my bosom-friend being all very true and innocent, and, as I conceive, containing nothing but what was my duty to speak, and which any man who had a spark of zeal to the common cause, and preservation of the nations engaged in the brotherly covenant, from the bloody plots of malignants, could not but have spoken upon the like occasion, should be thus searched after, this to my mind hath been the more heavy, because of my utter unacquaintance hitherto with all apologeticks for any part of my conversation; for it hath been the great mercy of God towards me, that to this day I was never called by any authority, civil or ecclesiastick, to the least question, for any of my words or deeds. Yet all this I shall digest with the greater contentment, if it may please God to bless it with the double fruit,



whereof I am in good hope ; first, that my Lord Digby's letter be so exactly urged as the authors of the propositions he speaks of may be found out, and so the whole island delivered from the danger of that treacherous design ; next, that hereafter (if with permission I may say so much) more notice may be taken of all, of whatsoever quality, who shall take the boldness to asperse either the parliament or the assembly, or the neighbour churches and nations, without cause, as too many for a long time have done too freely, without so much as any real inquiry after their misdemeanours.

101. *For Glasgow. June 17. 1645.*

SINCE my last, June 3d, there is, by God's mercy, a great change of affairs here. Our progress in the assembly is but small. We fell in a labyrinth of a catalogue of sins for which people must be kept from the sacrament, and ministers be deposed. When we had spent many days upon this, we found it was necessary to have an and a general clause, whereby the presbyteries and synods behoved to be intrusted with many more cases than possibly could be enumerated. This retarded us so much, that yet it will be some days before the body of our government go up to the Houses. We have sent down the last fifty of the psalms. We wish they may be well examined there, that we may have your animadversions and approbation. Doubtless these new psalms will be a great deal better than the old. The King is turning his head southward, to my great joy ; for I was much afraid, that the north of England should have joined with him, and fallen first on our army, and then on Scotland. He took Leicester by storm ; and much rapin, and ravishing of women, was committed there ; which was, in my judgement, the last and most immediate cause of God's vengeance on that army. After he had for a week fortified a part of that town, he marched towards Northampton. It was uncertain whither he intended. However Sir Thomas Fairfax gathered together all he could, to the number of 11,000 or 12,000 horse and foot. The King was much weaker in foot, yet we were exceedingly afraid for the parliament's forces : albeit lusty, well-armed, and well-paid men ; yet without officers of experience. The King  
finding



finding them stronger, after three or four days lying near together, began to draw off towards Oxford, to wait for Goring from the west; but Sir Thomas followed so close, that one Saturday morning both drew up for battle. About twelve they engaged. Rupert, on the King's right wing carried down the parliament's left wing, and made the Independent Colonels Pickering and Mountague flee like men; but Cromwell, on our right wing, carried down Prince Maurice; and while Rupert, in his fury, pursues too far, Cromwell comes on the back of the King's foot, and Fairfax on their face, and quickly makes them lay down their arms. Rupert, with difficulty, did charge through our army. The King, in person, did rally again the body of his horse; but they were again put to flight. The victory was entire: the whole foot killed or taken: the horse routed: all the cannon and baggage lost: some of ours hurt; but few killed. We have a publick thanksgiving on Thursday. This accident is like to change much the face of affairs here. We hope the back of the malignant party is broken. Some fear the insolency of others, to whom alone the Lord has given the victory of that day. It was never more necessary to haste up all possible recruits to our army. What next shall be done is not yet certain. The city will be careful to send a month's pay to our army. I am sure our army will be in better condition by much in the south than it was in the north. Likely there may be once again sent to the King, to accept the three propositions agreed on by his parliaments, about religion, the militia, and Ireland. If these, without delay, be yielded to, the rest may be treated on. But if this offer, which I hope may be made, be refused, I am feared for the sequel.

We hear the French got Dunkirk the last Tuesday, by surprise: this shortly will confine the Spaniards to the south side of the Pyrennees. The Swedes and Transylvanians are lying in Hungary, before Presburg. After the taking of Brin, the Danes will force their old wilful King to a peace: he must demolish Elsinour, and give over toll, and leave all he has on the north of the Baltick for a pledge to the Swedes. All would go well if it might please God to blink upon Scotland, to remove the three great plagues we hear that continue there, hardness of heart, the pestilence, and the sword. Our fatheries here are great and many; we wish, from our heart, to see a happy





happy end, and to be at home. My Lord Chancellor takes journey the next week.

102. To Mr William Spang. June 17. 1645.

Cousin,

THOUGH in your last ye complain of my not writing for three posts; yet before this comes to you, you will find your error. I wrote at length, which I hope before this you have received. It is not my purpose to write with every post, for fear of intercepting, but to be sure that you received the former, lest two at once be intercepted: yet your earnestness makes me at this time break that order. You see what this week I wrote to Glasgow; also what I wrote to L. Lauderdale; also you have a copy of the paper I gave in to be transmitted to the Houses. I hear it has given good satisfaction. I know it has been a great means to make the trial of Digby's letter more accurate than else it was like to have been. We have got Leicester back by composition. Our army is come up to Nottingham. What way we shall prosecute the enemy is now in deliberation. It will be hard for the King to stand any more in the fields. This day the Chancellor took his leave with the assembly, and exhorted them to expedition. They are in hopes to put the government off their hands one of these days. It is exceeding false, that there has ever been the least appearance of discord betwixt our commissioners and the parliament, neither I hope ever shall be. What use the Independent party may make of this very great and entire victory, wherewith God has been pleased to bless these counsels which they took against the mind of most here, and by appearance against all reason, we cannot yet say. However, our danger was very great, and God now has made us secure from the malignant party; for their strength seems to be broken, except God, contrare to all appearance, as oft he has done, raise them yet again to scourge us more, who truly are not in our hearts humbled in either nation. I do not love Mr Dane's motion. If it be his mind to draw from the professors a declaration for our behoof, I think he would have proposed far other questions. I pray you see he do us no evil. Advertise Dr Stewart to keep his colleagues silent, if they be not willing to declare flatly against all the branches of Independency,



Independency, as Apollonius and Spanheim have done, and for the rooting out of all kinds of Episcopacy, according to our covenant: why else should they trouble us with their untimely declarations, who have trouble enough already in our great and dangerous wrestlings with the common enemy?

103. *Concerning Lord Savile's business.*

*April 12. 1645.*

Ordered,

That my Lord Sey and Seal, Mr Pierpoint, Mr Solicitor, and Mr Carew, have power to treat with such as shall be employed by them for delivering up any considerable garrison of the enemy's, or bringing over any considerable force, and for discovery of such as give the enemy intelligence.

*May 6. 1645.*

The Lord Sey, Mr Carew, and Mr Solicitor, shall have power to treat with any for bringing in any of the forces or garrisons of the King, or to find out such as give intelligence.

*May 7. 1645.*

That the Earl of Loudon be added to this subcommittee, or in his absence the Lord Wariston.

*Tetbury, the 26th May 1645.*

Dear Governor,

Just as this messenger was taking horse, I received yours of the 22d, for which I thank you, assuring, that nothing can come more welcome to me than your kindness. The reason of my limitation in your order concerning the oath, was chiefly not to give umbrage to my L. Southampton, if it had been general. I have not time to write at large both to you and my brother secretary in cypher, and therefore I must refer you to his letter; wherein you will see, hard designs by the letter to LLL contained nothing but a dislike of my answer to the propositions you wrote of, as not at all satisfactory. All is villany and juggling among them. Dear William, adieu. Let us hear from you often. I am, your faithful friend and servant,

GEO. DIGBY.

*For my noble friend, Col. William Legge,  
Governor of Oxford.*

*Die*



*Die Saturni, 12 April 1645.*

Earl Northumberland,	Mr Pierpoint,	Earl of Loudon,
Earl Manchester,	Sir Hen. Vane sen.	Mr Barclay.
Lord Sey,	Sir Arthur Haselrig,	
	Mr Brown,	

*May 6. 1645.*

Earl Essex,	Mr Pierpoint,	
Earl Northumberland,	Sir Gilbert Gerard,	
Earl Manchester,	Mr Solicitor,	Mr Kennedy,
Earl Warwick,	Mr Wallop,	
Lord Sey,		
Lord Wharton,		

*April 28. The subcommittee went to Windsor.*

*June 6. 1645.*

That upon the report of the subcommittee, to whom power was given for to treat with any concerning the delivering up of any towns, or part of the enemy's horse, and for finding out any that keep intelligence, that order be vacated, it being declared by the subcommittee, that there is no more hope of the delivery of Oxford, the siege being raised.

*Paper given in by my Lord Wariston to the Committee of both Kingdoms, June 12. 1645, together with the Lord Chancellor's declaration.*

ALL my knowledge concerning the subcommittee is this only, That this subcommittee was made first, and then renewed, without putting any of our number upon it; yea, none of us remarking that such a thing was appointed.

That within two days after the renewing of it, some of the members of the Houses of this committee called for the order, and desired some of our number to be added.

Whereupon, about the 7th of May, my Lord Chancellor was added, and I in his absence.

That until the afternoon, wherein the report was made to the committee, being the 6th of June, I was never called to that subcommittee.

That day, before the report, my Lord Sey was pleased to tell me this in general,



That the business was some overtures for the surrendering of Oxford, and bringing over to the parliament some of the King's horses, and that he would take some time to communicate the particulars to my Lord Chancellor, and to me.

That at that meeting, immediately before the report, my Lord Sey told me, that it was Goring's horse should have been brought over.

That Col. Legge was the man that should surrender Oxford; and that the Lord Savile was the man that dealt with the one and the other, and who assured him of it; as also, that he had revealed to a lady, by decyphering a letter came from him to Oxford, that Mr Hollis was the man that kept weekly correspondence with Digby; but withal, that now he heard the business would fail. Whereupon we all resolved, for preventing jealousies and misreports of the subcommittee, to make our report to the committee, and to desire the vacating of that order, and to speak nothing; because we conceived there was no sufficient ground to bring any man's name in question, or make it good; and so the report was made.

Since the report yesternight, my Lord Sey was pleased to tell me, and the rest, of the circumstances, which now his Lordship reported to the committee and us, and shewed to me my Lord Savile's letter to my Lady Temple.

My Lord Chancellor of Scotland did further declare, that he did not know there was any such committee appointed, nor when it was again appointed; but his first knowledge of it was upon the 7th of May; at which time, he and my Lord Wariston were added to that subcommittee; but that he was never called to that subcommittee, nor did meet with them, nor knew any thing at all of that business, till the subcommittee was vacated; after which time, my Lord Sey was pleased to acquaint him therewith.

These inclosed, being the Lord Savile's own writings, are put into your hands for publick use by a well-wisher of the parliament. They came but a few days since to his knowledge that presents them. Now you have them, let them not be kept long without a due improvement. He cannot deny them to be his writing, if he be duly examined; which is left to your wisdom by,

Your's and the publick's servant,





*These were found amongst Mr Howard's papers.*

SIR,

*Worcester-house, July 14. 1645.*

THESE three papers inclosed, which came to our hands yesterday after eight of the clock, as written by the Lord Savile, and found amongst the papers of Mr Howard, we found, upon our perusal of them, to contain matters of so great importance and publick concernment, that we resolved, according to our obligation in the covenant, and that duty which our place and trust require of us, to take the first occasion to communicate them to the Honourable House of Commons, the Committee of both kingdoms not sitting this morning, that in their wisdom, with all speed, and before the matter be divulged, make the best use of them for the publick good. As we doubt not but this our service will be acceptable to the Honourable Houses of Parliament, so are we willing, what farther we know of this business, and by this occasion is brought to our remembrance, to communicate also, in such a way as may give most satisfaction to the Honourable Houses, and acquit us of our duty; who continues,

Your affectionate and humble servants.

Then the Independents began to court me again, and did assure me, if I would quit Essex's party, and join myself to them, and make a protestation not to betray them by any design, nor by joining in arms against them, they would quit their vote, call me to London again, and treat and advise with me concerning the peace of the kingdom. Which being so just according to my own heart, (all the power being in them), I am now in London again, in a more probable way to do good, if I may for my Lord D. what way to do it.

Essex is now of no power at all of himself to do any thing. The admiralty is in commission. They are confident of a great navy this summer. Young Sir H. is going to bring up the Scots army, which, by reason of the good success lately in Scotland, they assure themselves will come. Sir Thomas Fairfax will get an army, a great one, they think. One part thereof is designed to go to Taunton presently. They say they have certain intelligence from France, that the King can have no hopes of any forces  
from



from thence, nor from Ireland neither, where they shall have 18,000 men to keep them doing.

That being never weary in desiring the peace of this poor kingdom, notwithstanding all his former endeavours, which God knows he hath continually used, he cannot but once more, in a time when there are no arguments to persuade him, but his unfeigned love to his people and their peace, to reflect again upon the three propositions made at Uxbridge, and once more to make these offers.

1. That the business in Ireland, he will leave it as it is already settled by act of parliament.

2. As for the militia, he will agree to the time, not doubting but that such persons shall be named on both sides as both may confide in.

3. For the church-government, if that which he hath offered do not satisfy, he shall come up to his parliament, and advise with them about it, where you may hope to receive all reasonable satisfaction from him in the third, that he hath shewed so great a desire to comply with you in the two former.

Our friends say, D. hath sent no answer to the message desired, but that it is unreasonable at any time, and unreasonable at this; that the King is gone, and nothing of all they fear was intended; that S. hath had ill grounds, or worse advice, for his hopes. They wonder that so much reason should not be hearkened unto better. They confess D. saith most rationally, that many things may be hearkened unto upon a certain conclusion, the very overture of which before might weaken the hands that must fight for them; but the same ground they alledge from the treaty, that many things for the church, at a treaty here, after other things are agreed, might be condescended unto, the overture of which before might weaken their party, and destroy their cause.

They are in conclusion so much unsatisfied with that part of the answer which S. acquainted them withal, concerning the message desired, that being in such a distemper, S. thought it neither safe for him; nor the cause, hereafter to make them any new offers for their own particular satisfaction or hopes; or to desire (as D. requires) from them any probabilities for the undertaking at this time; because S. is confident, if he should, they would look upon them, not as offers, but as baits, to make them obnoxious to the other party, to act against them when it



was known; and it would destroy S. in their suspicious breasts, that he should never be able to resume it again hereafter if there should be occasion. If you can beat or disgrace Fairfax's army of Independents, Essex and the Scots will be greater than ever, which I assure you they look for certainly; and if they be, S. knows they will be wiser than they were, and assures D. S. will not only revive, but improve the former design, and do the King's business the safest, speediest, and noblest way; and shall not omit neither, when they are in a better temper, to offer what is desired to this other side. And albeit S. will have as many witnesses as you have friends here, of his unfeigned endeavours to serve you, though with hazard of all he hath; and let not D. imagine, that ever it came into the heart of S. to do any offices for him but what a just man might, and an innocent man should desire. Pray, desire the Duchess of Buckingham to send the man she did to Nonsuch as soon as she can.

Cousin,

Upon conference this night with my L. Secy, it is held fit that we should not send a pass to Jo. Cary before your return. When we shall understand how far (L) will communicate himself unto him, and whether he will be willing to put the business into his hands. The parliament's forces are now about Wallingford, so as I am doubtful whether he will come to that place he appointed; but I am sure you will do that which you think fittest, and your return will be much wished I assure you. I wrote, that they of Oxford need not fear the advance of Fairfax's army speedily; but now I believe the contrary, of which I thought fit to let you know. If you would this evening step up hither, it would not be amiss. Adieu.

*Die Luna, July 14. 1645.*

Sir Hen. Mildmay, Mr Bainton, and Mr Herle, are appointed to go to the Scots commissioners, to desire them to be present at the committee this afternoon appointed to examine the Lord Savile.

HEN. ELSYNGE, Cler. P. D. Com.

As the conscience of our solemn league and covenant, and the sense of that duty, which, from our special trust and interest, we owe to the publick, and is expected from  
us,



us, did lay a necessity upon us to communicate some papers of publick concernment, which came to our hands, unto the Honourable House of Commons; so do we, upon the same grounds, and upon the desire of the Honourable House of Commons, imparted to us by this committee, offer for the present such other particulars as did make us apprehend there hath been some underhand dealing about propositions of peace, contrare to the covenant and treaty; and before these matters come to publick agitation, to express our thoughts thereof to several members of this committee of both kingdoms, and will give light to the former paper.

First, about the 23d of April, the Lord Chancellor made known unto us who are joined with him in commission, that the Lord Savile, after his coming hither from Oxford, sent one unto his Lordship, to shew his desire to come and speak with him; unto which my Lord Chancellor returned his answer by Mr Traill, That he was lately come from the enemy's quarters, and was not reconciled to the parliament; and therefore could not grant his desire. Upon this occasion, he discovered himself thus far to Mr Traill, that some here had made their addresses by their agents to his Majesty upon these terms, That if his Majesty would make good what he had declared concerning toleration in matters of religion, they would adhere unto him, and come and reside in his quarters; and that he had a way of intelligence with the Queen for bringing about an accommodation betwixt King and parliament.

After the Lord Savile had taken the protestation for the parliament, he came unexpectedly upon my L. Chancellor, when under physic; and after prefacing of his reconciliation to the parliament, and of his taking the oath, whereby he was now a free man, and might be spoken with, he entered immediately upon a discourse, that he wondered why the Scots commissioners were so averse from the peace of the kingdoms, which others both here and at Oxford were so much inclined unto; that for himself he came from Oxford with the King's knowledge, and as much trust and favour as ever he had before, and that he came to this place with no other intention, but to use his best endeavours for bringing about a peace, wherein he wished his Lordship's concurrence. My L. Chancellor answered, That the commissioners from Scotland had concurred with this kingdom, in propositions





positions of peace, and that it was a great unhappiness in the King to refuse the three propositions offered to him at Uxbridge, without the granting whereof it was but folly to think upon any treaty, or to entertain any hope of peace. At this my L. Chancellor was forced, by his physic, to break off abruptly. This the Lord Savile is said to have taken as an affront to himself, and a sign of the L. Chancellor's averfeness from his intensions of peace, and therefore did neither come nor send thereafter unto him; which may give the meaning of that which he writeth in one of his letters, "that the Scots would be wiser than they were." My L. Chancellor had refused to treat with Savile, had informations from persons of trust, and well-affected to the parliament: that he kept frequent meetings with others, and with their knowledge sent messengers divers times to Oxford; and that he treated with them upon the three propositions; concerning the militia, that they were willing the King should have the choice of the third or fourth part of the commission; concerning Ireland, that the King should restore all things to the condition they were in before the beginning of the troubles, and some way should be thought upon for repairing the losses of the Protestants, without destroying the natives; and concerning church-business, all things to be delayed till the King's coming up to London. That if they agreed to this treaty, the Queen was to have the honour of it, and was to be moved to write to the King, and that she herself should receive satisfaction and liberty also to Henry Jermyn; that the persons who treated should have the power to dispose of all places; that when he questioned, What if the people here should grumble at it? it was answered, That there an army was sure against such: and the question being made to him, What if the King shall refuse it? was answered, That Goring and his officers would be for it, and join with their forces. All these particulars were, by L. Chancellor, related to divers of us, and written down at this time by some of us in our diurnals, which may be a sufficient ground against all suspicion of fiction or forgery upon our part. The same also were by his Lordship repeated afterward, upon the occasion of the business of the sub-committee, and of Mr Cranford's relation, and certain interrogatories were drawn up upon them.

The information which my L. Chancellor received,  
and



and did relate to us concerning the privy way of treating, was mightily confirmed by some letters of intelligence, written from France about the same time, which did contain the same articles of giving content to the King concerning the militia, and delaying the church-business, and all other matters, till his coming to London: and that it was moved to the Queen to deal for this effect with his Majesty, upon these considerations.

That the Scots had no power here, and were averse from peace; that their opposites had all power in the houses, in the city, in the army, and in the navy: That Presbyterial government would be more powerful, permanent, and prejudicial to monarchy, and to the recovery of regal power in church-matters; but Independency being weak in itself, and so near into disorder and confusion, would call quickly for a remedy, and open a way for the King to return to his own power; and that the one side was in their principles for liberty of conscience, and therefore would be compliant with the Catholics of his Majesty's party in the three kingdoms; but the Presbyterians were more rigid, and would oppose toleration of divers religions in his Majesty's dominions.

Those discoveries made formerly by Savile's propositions, by information from others, and by letters from France, were renewed to our sense, and further confirmed unto us by other emergents; as by Digby's intercepted letter to Legge; mentioning the dislike of his answer to the propositions sent to Oxford, as being not at all satisfactory; by the naming and meeting of a subcommittee, without our knowledge, as is more fully expressed in the papers given in by the L. Chancellor and the L. Wariston, the 12th of May, to be reported to the Houses; and by the King's intercepted letters, especially that to the Queen, concerning a proposition from a person at London, whom he calls one of the most considerable London rebels, for renewing the treaty upon her motion, with a proassurance of submitting to reason.

We add also, when some of our number went to Oxford, with the propositions of peace, it was told them, that there was one there agenting privily for a party at London; which, when some of the English commissioners were acquainted with, they told, that there was one come from London to the L. Cottington at that time, as at several times before. We have also been advertised  
from



from the Earl of Lauderdale, that the secret, concerning the surprise of Oxford at an advantageous place, communicated by Mr Napier to a subcommittee of three persons, of which number his Lordship was one, is found now by the intercepted letters to have been discovered at Oxford to some, and by them particularly written to the King, which his Lordship wonders how it comes to pass, and we now hear to be a truth, although the letter itself, which beareth so much, was not communicated unto us with the other letters.

These particulars so much cleared and confirmed unto us, we conceive to be of so great importance, that (were the persons concerned never so dear unto us) we could not, without great guiltiness, conceal them from the Honourable Houses; which they will therefore take to their consideration, and do what in their wisdom may seem most for the well of the publick.

*July 24. 1645.*

We being desired, by a message from the Honourable House of Commons, to be present at this committee, appointed for the examination of the L. Savile, and having heard his elusory answer concerning his intention and pretension, we have thought fit, for acquitting ourselves of the trust put upon us, to represent our thoughts concerning that answer of his, the only seeming strength and advantage in all his defences.

That his real intention was to do the King's business, and to bring about new and unsafe propositions of peace; and that the business of Goring and Legge, and the finding out the King's intelligencer here, were but pretensions, it may thus appear.

1. By Mr Howard's flying out of the kingdom, when the L. Savile was challenged upon underhand dealings; it being clear, by the L. Savile's letter to Mr Howard, that Mr Howard knew of the reality of his intentions; which is also confessed by Savile himself: so that there had been nothing to fright away Mr Howard, and make him flee, if the real intention had been to do service to the parliament, and not to the King.

2. The L. Savile's own papers (which we did formerly communicate) do testify against him, that he endeavoured to do the King all possible services; for he kept ordinary correspondence with these at Oxford, and gave them



them intelligence of such things as might be most for their advantage and our prejudice. As that concerning the Scots army's march southward, and that Sir Thomas Fairfax was to get a great army, and a part thereof designed to go to Taunton. He wrote also what intelligence was here at this time from France and Ireland, the parliament's forces being about Wallingford; he did intimate, in his letter to Mr Howard, John Cary's danger if he should adventure to come to the place appointed. And having formerly written, that they of Oxford should not fear the advance of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army speedily, he did thereafter recal that intelligence, and wrote the contrary, lest his former intelligence had made the enemy slack in their preparations. He wrote also concerning divisions and factions here; that Essex had no power; that the Independents are the prevailing party: whereupon he recommendeth the beating or disgracing of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army. He puts the enemy in hopes, that Essex and the Scots army will be wiser than they were, and will hearken more to peace than they did; and informs, that in the mean time the Independents were courting him, and treating with him concerning the peace of the kingdoms; and when they were unsatisfied with the L. Digby's answer concerning the message, he gave notice how unsatisfied they were, and promiseth to deal with them at a fitter season. These things being laid together, declare, that he did both really and intentionally endeavour to strengthen the enemy, and to weaken the parliament, by acquainting these at Oxford, with the condition of our affairs, our intelligence, our intentions, the posture and motion of our armies, our strength, our weakness, our divisions, and such other things as might most encourage and be useful to the enemy; and endanger our affairs, so that when he tells us, that all these were but pretensions, it calls to mind Solomon's observation, "As a madman that casteth fire-brands, arrows, and death, so is the man that deceiveth his neighbour," and saith, Am not I in sport?"

3. In the end of his large paper he bids assure Digby, that he will do the King's business the safest, the speediest, and the noblest way; and that they at Oxford shall understand from their friends here, his unfeigned desires to serve them, though with the hazard of all he hath; those friends of theirs whom they will trust, being witnesses of





his proceedings. But if he had been doing service to the parliament, as now he professeth, why did he either fear the hazard of all he hath, or acquaint the Oxfordian intelligence here with what he did?

4. In the beginning of his first paper, he intimates to them at Oxford, that the protestation that some here offered unto him, and that which they desired and advised, was all according to his own heart. No wise man would write so to them at Oxford, if they at Oxford had not real testimonies of his desires to serve them; otherwise it had been a ready way to break his credit and trust at Oxford.

5. He did most really, seriously, and with great asseverations and assurances, deal with some persons here toward the making of a peace, and bringing about a new message from the King, which might be accepted here; and particularly he endeavoured to persuade the L. Chancellor to this business, as is expressed in our other paper. This not being well relished by the L. Chancellor, he applyeth himself unto others whom he designeth in these papers. And the whole course of his proceedings do declare, that he came hither from Oxford to gain a party for the King, whomsoever he shall find most willing and useful for his ends, concerning new propositions of peace.

6. That which he calls his pretension is found to have been really acted, and diligently prosecuted by him, as appears not only by his own hand-writ, which is instead of many witnesses, but also by the Lord Digby's letter, relating to the same business, and by the King's letter to the Queen, the 13th of March 1645, intimating the Lord Savile's purpose to go to her, in order to a new treaty. But for that which he calls his real intention, there appears no real evidence for it, neither by his own papers, nor by any letters of his correspondents; nor doth he shew any warrant from the subcommittee for making a pretension of peace.

7. The L. Savile confessed, before the committee, that the propositions which he sent to Oxford, and which he desired might be sent hither in a message from the King, were such as he really desired might be sent from the King, and which he is confident should be accepted by those whom he calls his friends here, and the prevalent party. And whereas he saith, that he thought these propositions to be the same with the three propositions which

were



were treated upon at Uxbridge, it would soon appear, that the propositions were substantially different, if they be compared together: yea the L. Savile himself could not be ignorant that these propositions of his were not the same with those treated upon at Uxbridge; for he well knew, that the King had absolutely refused to grant these propositions, except they be mollified and altered; so that he could never have made that a colour or pretext for another design, to desire that the King should send back the parliament's own propositions, and now offer what he had refused at Uxbridge.

8. The L. Savile said before the committee, that the end why he sent those advertisements to Oxford, was to find out the party on which the King relies here, he having heard much at Oxford of two parties here; and that the L. Digby said at the L. Dorset's house, that the King hath a party here greater than all his armies; and being employed, as he saith, by the subcommittee, to try out who are the King's party here, this, he said, was the ground and reason of writing these papers, whereupon he is now challenged: yet this his pretence is overthrown by his own papers, by which he himself communicates to those at Oxford, intelligence concerning two parties here, and which of the two parties courts and treats with him about peace, and hath the power in their hands, and what party it was that had desired him to join himself to them by protestation, and to quit the other party. But how can this be a way to make them at Oxford to discover to him the King's party here, while he himself discovereth to them which is the party here that is both weakest and most unwilling for peace? neither doth it at all appear that he wrote to any at Oxford for finding out the King's party here.

9. That which the L. Savile saith was but his pretension, is really coincident with the design which the enemy hath been driving on all this while past, as is evident by the Queen's letter to the King, for casting of religion to be treated of in the last place, the same is found in Savile's papers and propositions sent to Oxford. It is also evident by the King's letter to the Duke of Richmond, putting him in mind to cajole the Independents and the Scots, which is the very same that Savile endeavoured to do, and when he could not prevail one way, he applied himself another way. It doth farther appear by that let-



ter to the Duke of Richmond, and by some of the King's letters to the Queen, that although it was not the Queen's mind, yet there were thoughts of bringing the King to London, and divers about the King were for it; which is another circumstance coincident with the Lord Savile's papers.

10. There can be no such credit given to what the L. Savile alledgeth, when he was a prisoner under examination, and fearing to lose a party whose protection he desireth and expecteth, as for that which is found under Savile and Digby their own hands, having past between them in a secret way of correspondence, and now discovered and brought to light by a secret providence of God, without their knowledge, and against their desire; and Digby's intercepted letter agreeing with Savile's papers, in the progress and way of the business, and the one answering the other, as face answereth, both shewing that propositions were sent to Oxford, that Digby sent an answer thereunto, and that this answer was communicated by the L. Savile to those here whom he thought most willing to make peace: whereupon Savile perceiving they were not satisfied with Digby's answer, did intimate to Digby that they were not satisfied, but displeased and distempered, and gave this occasion to Digby to write his opinion in that letter which was intercepted, in which CCC signifieth John Cary, who was Mr Howard's correspondent, which the L. Savile himself confesseth. Besides all this, the L. Savile's answer and expressions before the committee were contradictory one to another, and therefore the less to be trusted.

11. The 4th article of the solemn league and covenant, bindeth us to endeavour the discovery, trial, and condign punishment of all such evil instruments as hinder the reformation of religion, divide the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or make any faction or parties amongst the people, contrary to the covenant. This article must be applied, and performed, either according to the reality of mens actions, or according to the interpretations which men will put upon their own actions. If the former, then the L. Savile falleth within the compass of that article, his actions being really a hindering of the reformation of religion, and a dividing the King from his best subjects, and of the kingdoms one from another, and making a faction or party contrare to the



the covenant. If the latter, then the greatest incendiary or traitor may shelter himself under this evasion, that he did intend some great good, and to do service to the parliament, which, that he might the better do, he did insinuate himself in a handsome way of compliance with those of Oxford, to make them trust him the more. It is not to be forgotten, that the thing which he calls his intention here, he persuadeth them at Oxford to be but a pretension; and that which he calls a pretension here, he persuades them at Oxford to be his real intention; so that in this case he must needs be examined according to the nature and reality of his actions and divisive motions.

104. *To Principal Strang.* July 1. 1645.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

— Since my last there is little more news here. The King's cabinet being taken in the battle is sent up here. Yesterday all day the House of Commons was reading his letters. A world of things there, under the King's hand, to increase his disgrace. I am afraid for the consequence of these secrets. Many foul things are found, which cannot but much increase our distrust, which before was great enough. —

105. *Publick Letter.* July 1. 1645.

How this fortnight bygone affairs have gone here, the two inclosed diurnals will shew. Little more progress is made in church-affairs. The assembly has been forced to adjourn on five divers occasions of fastings and thanksgiving lately, every one whereof took from us almost two days. When we sat we had no real controversy; only petty debates for alterations of words, and transposition of propositions, in the whole body of government, took up our time. Our luck will be very evil, if once this week, by God's help, we do not at last put out of our hands to the Houses all that we have to say of government, the whole platform there really according to the practice of our church. Farther, order for the directory, after many debates, at last is passed the House of Commons; very near as severe an ordinance as that against the neglect of  
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the service-book. Wednesdays and Fridays are set apart by the Houses for church-affairs, so we hope very shortly to see presbyteries and synods erected: yet what retardment we may have from this great victory, obtained most by the Independent party, and what that model of government, whereupon Thomas Goodwin and his brethren these three months have been sitting so close, that they very rarely, and he never at all has yet appeared, we do not know; only we expect a very sharp assault, how soon we know not, for a toleration to we wot not what. This we know, that we had never more need of your prayers for wisdom and grace, to get the dangerous and evil designs of very crafty and diligent men overthrown, and turned on the head of the contrivers. For our own parts, we have strong enough mutual affections to be at our own homes in so stormy times; yet we were unworthy of the trust put upon us, if we did not declare, that the necessity of men here for our church, and the cause of God, was never so palpable as at this hour. The King, since the battle, has been in Worcester-shire, and now in Hereford and Monmouth shires, on the borders of Wales, recruiting his foot; but comes small speed. Our forces in Taunton were in hazard to have been overmastered by Goring; but Masséy got near 4000 horse together for their relief. Goring is thought yet to be the stronger. Sir Thomas Fairfax is marching with all the speed he can to join with Masséy. It is much feared Goring fight before Sir Thomas can come up. This is a day of prayer in the city for help from God to Masséy. If Goring were broke, it is thought that party were undone. The King expects forces from Ireland to land in Wales. But that which now is most spoken of, is the King's cabinet, sent up hither by Sir Thomas Fairfax after the battle. Some make it of as great value as the victory; I pray God it may be so. It doth discover under the King's hand many great secrets, which I fear will make all peace with him, and hopes of him, more desperate. Our commissioners gave in a paper before the Chancellor went, to make three uses of the victory; the present settling of the church, the active prosecution of the war, the sending to the King in his low condition for peace on the former propositions. We expect to-morrow an answer to these important motions. Our army, blessed be God, is well, and has rested itself at leisure about Nottingham. I hope they are now on their march for Worcester



cester and Hereford. Their quarters there will be good, and their service for the time not hard. It is exceeding necessary, that the promised recruits should come up with all diligence. All that love either God or Scotland would bestir themselves in the places where they live to haste up these men. If they be put in garrison in Newcastle, their labour is not great; if they come up to Worcester, tho' the journey be far, yet the way is safe; no enemy by the way, and they are sure of good maintenance. If it might please God to make you there so wise as to strengthen this army to 14,000 or 15,000 foot, that the whole might be 18,000 or 20,000 men, horse and foot, then we would be so looked upon as to be revered by our friends, feared by our foes, be well entertained of all, and be able to keep all here in church and state right, according to our mind. But will we sit still, and neglect the army here; it will be contemned, and our whole nation with it. The consequences will be deplorable to both the kingdoms. Now a little wisdom and diligence will help all. Our hearts here are oft exceeding sorry to think, that it is God's will to continue his plagues on our dear country; that not only these bloody miscreants are permitted to rage among us, but that God immediately should strike the chief parts of our land with the pestilence, and that under both these plagues a stupid, blind, lethargick stupidity should be upon us. For these things we mourn, and oft our eyes trickle down with water: but if, with all these evils, there be any unmerciful men among us, who now will follow private interests, and be for emulations and factions, for the upholding of the common enemy, and casting of this whole island back in the gulph of deeper misery than yet we have seen, at this very time when God's mercy has brought us very near to the shore and end of all our troubles; I cannot deny but my heart does detest and curse the wickedness of all such men; and I am confident God will discover, and make their base designs so visible, that their names shall rot and sink to the generations following. I hope many honest ministers, and others, will countenance this session of parliament. My L. Chancellor and my L. Lauderdale will there fully inform the posture of affairs here. I hope there will be none there so evil a countryman as to be upon any design which evidently may put things either here or there in a confusion. Private ends are ever base; but at this nick of time, mens self-interests may



may be destructive both to themselves and the publick. Time will not fail to reveal many secrets. If God may be pleased to make you there wise and unanimous, and a little active, we are likely ere long to have all settled in the whole island according to our mind; otherwise our miseries in all the isle are but beginning. What I wrote about the surprize of Dunkirk was reported confidently here for four or five days; but it is false. Duke de Orleans is lying about Mardike, and has burnt the suburbs of Dunkirk. Torstenson has not yet got Brin. The Prince of Orange, with all his army, is in Flanders, but yet not lien down before any town. The State's fleet is joined with the Swedish. The straits of Denmark are great. They say Harcourt has got a great victory in Arragon.

106. *To my Lord Lauderdale. July 1. 1645.*

My Lord,

I forgive your first fault in not answering mine, that you may fall the readier in the next. I hope you got the last fifty psalms, and have sent them to the committee. There is longing here already for your animadversions. Mr Rous has twice in this short time been speaking to me about it. You will not fail to put the committee in mind to use what diligence conveniently they may. Your Lordship may see what I write to my wife. Close all, and send all away with the first occasion. If you be a good Scotfman, remonstrate what necessity there is to make our army here strong in men and ministers and a committee. For the time it is like to have little ado; for the Independents and Cromwell are like to put a quick end to all here without any other help. What will be next, if we, by our eternally unanswerable sottishness, will make ourselves inconsiderable but for a little time longer, who can tell? Our church-busines drives on wonderful heavily, and is like to go on more and more heavily if this world last. The letters of the cabinet have been strangely shuffled. It is said now they were rifled by the soldiers, and cast here and there, and hardly one got gathered together. However, the box was in some hands at farthest on the Sunday. The committee of both kingdoms had leisure to write for them to Sir Thomas Fairfax; but no answer at all was returned to that letter; only the letters came all  
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here



here open, on the Friday, to Mr White, who did with them what he pleased till Monday morning; at which time they were given in as a huge great secret to the House of Commons, and there all the forenoon and afternoon, and the day following, read over in the audience of the House. They are this day, as I think, but to be read in the House of Lords, and on Thursday by a great committee of Lords and Commons to be read in a common council at London; thereafter we will have the favour to see them. It is very like that new advifements here will be taken upon them. What they who love an anarchy in the church, as it is feared in state also, do intend, we will shortly know. Only they who have any love to God, or their covenant, or Britain, among you, let them at this diet of parliament, or never, see to our army here, and to our London commission. Are there any pedantick fools now talking of removing of the commission? The necessity of continuing and increasing it was never half so apparent as now. If there be any fitter men than the former, let them in God's name have their turn; but a lamentable pity it is, that men should so far mind their own open interests, as to hazard the publick safety, for to revenge the just miscarriage of their unreasonable desires. If there was any trinketing with the King, it seems the evidence of it was in that box; but, by canny convoyance, these men in whose hands the open box so long remained, might destroy whatever concerned their friends. This is done in such a way as cannot be gotten questioned. Savile and Sey have oft been before the committee of examination; but all is like to turn to nothing. Except you be unanimous, this poor isle is farther from peace and happiness than ever. When we have put the King to Wales and Cornwall, and printed all his shameful secrets, as it is like shortly we will, what then shall we do next? The like of this consultation never yet came above your table. Make haste hither you and the Chancellor, except you also love to drown yourselves in your private affairs, till both you and they be lost with us all in the publick. An agent for the army is most needless; we are at charges enough already. That needless office will find us all sagots to heat our waters more than we can suffer. Suppress that motion in time, or it will hurt us all, and most the first movers. I am as busy as I may with our sectaries. If I had some time, readily I may give an account





to the publick of my studies under your Lordship's patronage, if you continue honest, (a great if in these days of motion); but my progress yet is but small. Mr Henderson feared me much the other day by stopping of his water; but now, blessed be God, he is well. We expected George and Mr Kennedy this night from the army at farthest; but we have heard nothing of them, or it, since Friday. We send to the army to-morrow L. 20,000. Remembering my service to your good kind Lady, and her glowing son, whom I pray God to bless, and make fatherbetter, I rest,

Your Lordship's servant.

107. *Publick Letter.* July 8. 1645.

WITH the last post all I would say beside what was in my publick letter, you and Mr Robert did see in my letter to Mr David. Let me know if you received what I wrote to you with James Nilbet. I got Mr Robert's and Mr Zacharias's. You had great need to further up recruits to our army. It may shortly have much to do. If you will send to it what you ought and may, it will have little or nought to do. I see by Mr Robert's letter, that you are misinformed of our numbers. The King and Goring together will have triple our number of horse, and double of foot. The parliament, if they labour, can make Sir Thomas Fairfax's double our number in foot as he is already double in horse. Under God the welfare of Scotland depends on this army. The Chancellor can inform how necessary it is to have a strong committee and presbytery there to keep better discipline than has been. Ravishing, and plundering of friends, unpunished, will make God to punish all for a few. Men of suspected faith are very dangerous to be there. The parliament is wise to make, in a canny and safe way, a wholesome purgation, that it may be timeous. You will remember me to the magistrates of the town, and have a care that my publick letters, and printed papers, be communicated to them and to my colleagues. If this be neglected, I pray you let them know it is not my fault. However our opposition is mighty, yet daily, blessed be God, we get ground. All the ministers in London now without exception are for our presbytery. Thomas Goodwin and Burton, that were against



gainst it, are put by the parliament from their places. Some other few preachers are but lecturers. The Independents yet present not their model. We suspect their domestick divisions, or their perplexity, whether to take in or hold out from amongst themselves the rest of the sectaries. If our army were in good case, by God's blessing, all would settle quickly in peace; else, we are but in the beginning of confusions and troubles. The troubles in Scotland are but secondary evils. Your right eye would be on the affairs here, if you have either wisdom, or any love to yourselves. Mr Henderson is much tenderer than he wont. He and Mr Rutherford are gone this day to Epfom waters. So long as any thing is to do here, he cannot be away. I hope the rest of us ere long, may be well spared, if once we had through the Catechism and a part of the Confession. If I write not the next two posts, the cause will be my employment to preach to the House of Lords the next fast-day. What our consultation about sending of articles to the King will produce, we cannot tell as yet; only we expect great events. I pray God they may be good, and for ending of our troubles. I think you and Mr David both will be at Stirling. Let it be your care, that Lauderdale be sent back to us with all expedition. No living man fitter to do service for Scotland against the plotting Independent party, which, for the time, has a great hand in the state. Also, if the affairs of Scotland may any way permit, it were necessary the Chancellor returned. He is very much regarded and loved here. Take heed, as ye love our affairs here either of church or state, that my L. Wariston be not called back. Whoever and whatever pretence will offer it, they, for private and corrupt designs, would disgrace one of the most faithful, diligent, and able servants that our church and kingdom has had all the times of our troubles. There is no need at all for an agent for the army, if there be any commissioners for our state here. It is not only a needless office, but it is sought merely for private ends, and will be occasion of evil. In all these things misken me, and all information from this.



108. *To my Lord Lauderdale. July 8. 1645.*

My Lord,

So long as the plague is in Edinburgh, you must be content to be our postmaster-general. How all goes here, you will get it from many hands. If you please to read what I have sent to my friends, you may close the utmost cover, and send it to some Glasgow man there. Mr Henderson went this day to Epsom. He is better than he was, but not yet well. Many here stumble at our offer of propositions to the King; but to me the offer seems very necessary. You know the temper of our army, and I think of the parliament also. If they be offered and received, we attain our end; if rejected, all will be the more encouraged to go on. But if they should not be offered, and yet upon the letters a summons, a certification go to the King, what should be next? The Prince and York are with their father. Gloucester is put in Northumberland's keeping. The kingdoms behoved to be guided by the parliaments, and so England by these who now prevail; whose government how sweet it would be either to church or state, no man knows better than you. And what would Scotland's condition be, if, beside Montrose, they had any other factions to deal with, striving for the government, and possibly a rupture with England, beside an immortal war so long as the King or Prince had any friends either at home or abroad? I would therefore think it simply necessary for the good of Britain to send offers of peace to the King, but withal that they may be real. Many here that can condescend to send them, mind no more than a bare paper to be accepted or refused, not only without any treaty, but without any words. If we desire to deal truly with the heart of a man obstinate near to endurance, we would use some probable means of persuasion. If you condescend to send propositions, by all means let Mr Henderson be one to go with them, with an express to him, and all whom ye will send, to deal to the uttermost of their power to persuade the King's conscience to go on no farther to his own evident ruin, and possibly ours also. No man on our side so meet as Mr Henderson, and you know he will not go without express commands both from church and state. This much remember I forwarned you  
of,



of, albeit possibly for little purpose; for if Goring get over the Severn with his 7000 horse and three of foot, as they call him, the King and he will make a powerful army, and in reason they will march directly on us at Worcester. There we are our alone. The English forces which were promised to join, I hear not of them. Sir Thomas Fairfax, appointed to follow Goring, it is feared shall lie still to refresh his weary foot; and the present condition of our army I doubt it much. By all means haste up our recruits to lie still in the northern garrisons, that the old soldiers may come to our army. O! if you could get one sound blow of Montrose, that the body of that army might come up to England. We are hated and despised daily by many here. No means but by a miracle either of safety or reputation, but the strengthening of this army much above what it is. If you take not a course in the parliament, that justice may be done on unclean, drunken, blasphemous, plundering officers, noblemen, as well as others, we will sink in the nose of this people deservedly, and God will plague us; and if any thing should befall this army, what were Scotland's condition? The face of affairs convinces you, that there is a necessity you should lay by your private affairs, and haste up hither so soon as the English commissioners are dismissed; for before, I think, you must not stir. Wharton is the leader of this negotiation. You know his metal. He is as fully as ever for that party, who grows in hopes and insolency against all that are in their way. Their designs are very high; yet pride dwells on the brink of ruin. I thought to have written but six lines at most; yet old freedom with you has made my pen run thus far. Please your Lordship, farewell. Your servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

109. *To the Earl of Eglinton. Worcester-house, July 3. 1645.*

My Lord,

I thank your Lordship for your kind letter by Hugh Kennedy. I saw no other of your letters this twelve months at least. All the news I have ever sent to Scotland, it was my direction they should go from Glasgow to your Lordship's house at Kilwinning. How all goes here,  
our





our secretary writes to your committee. Yesterday we sent up to both Houses the whole body of the church-government; so it is once out of the assembly's hands. Blessed be God, all the ministers of London are for us. Burton and Goodwin, the only two that were Independents, are by the parliament removed from their places. Seven or eight preachers that are against our way are only lecturers in the city, but not ministers. We hope shortly to get the Independents put to it to declare themselves either to be for the rest of the sectaries, or against them. If they declare against them, they will be but a small inconsiderable company; if for them, all honest men will cry out upon them for separating from all the Reformed churches, to join with Anabaptists and Libertines. The Lords this day named Rutland and Wharton for their commissioners for our parliament, as the Commons before had done Sir Henry Vane elder, Sir William Armyne, Mr Hatcher, and Goodwin. I hope their friendly debate with our parliament about Carlisle shall end in a straiter union betwixt the nations, and shall be a mean to remedy many of our grievances; but the only hope we have to prevail in any thing, either in church or state, is God's blessing on that your army. We fear that Goring crosses the Severn, and join with the King. You then will be nearest the danger. I doubt not but you press with all diligence to have your recruits from Scotland, and what you can draw from your northern garrisons. That which affrays us most is, your neglect of discipline, if it be true which very many have told us, that ravishers of women, and plunderers of people; that blasphemers, and profaners of the sabbath, and such like enormities, are unpunished among you; that sundry new covenanters have place among you also. These things will make God to withdraw his assistance from you. Your Lordship was wont to have the best ordered and most pious soldiers in the army; if this be not still your Lordship's care, you will lose much of that honour which before you did enjoy upon just desert. I must here abruptly break off. Our prayers here are for all your prosperities. We trust God will honour you all by notable services to God and both the kingdoms. When you have seen the copy of the King's writs, you will believe your own eyes, that our hopes of peace by any treaty can be but small so long as  
the



the King has any army on the fields. But I must say, Adieu.

Your Lordship's, to be commanded after the old fashion,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

My service to the Colonel, of whom I hear much good.

110. *Publick Letter. July 15. 1645.*

SINCE my last, with the former post, July 1st, we have, thanks be to God, at last finished the whole body of government, and after all our reviews, sent it up to both Houses on Monday; so it is once out of our hands. We expect the parliament, when it lies on them alone, will, with expedition, see much of our advice put in practice. Since, we have entered on the Confession of Faith; as yet I cannot pronounce of the length or shortness of our proceedings therein. If God be pleased to assist us, as sometimes he does, we may, ere long, be at an end of our whole work.

So soon as Sir Thomas Fairfax had overtaken Maffey, the clubmen that made so great noise, did shrink away. Goring drew off from Taunton; and, as it is thought, is gone towards Bristol. The King is beyond the Severn, gathering in Wales what recruits he is able. It seems he and Goring will join, and so make up a great army betwixt them. If Goring go over the Severn to the King, it seems they will fall upon our army, who now, as we think, are about Worcester; but if the King come over the Severn, it seems they will fall on Sir Thomas Fairfax, who is following Goring so fast as his wearied foot are able. There is great need, that with all the speed may be, these 6000 foot we hear of be sent up from Scotland, and with them some gracious ministers. If our army were so much strengthened with men and ministers, and a committee, as easily by a little care it might be, it would be a pregnant mean to end the troubles of Scotland, to settle all these dominions according to our mind; but if diligence for this end be not used, and that quickly, we hurt the common cause, we much endanger both the honour and safety of our own nation. Montrose will be cheaper and more easily defeat here than he can be there. The placing



placing of a Scots garrison in Carlisle is taken ill here by the most part. The parliament has named two Lords and four Commons to go to Stirling to require reason in this point. They who are seeking division betwixt the nations, blow much at this coal. I am hopeful our parliament will be able to satisfy the English commissioners in any thing they will demand, and that Carlisle, which many fear, and some expect, shall be the apple of strife, will be the band of a straiter union betwixt us, and a little reckoning and friendly debate betwixt the parliaments. Union has been, and is our subsistence; it must be entertained at whatever rate; all divisive motions are destructive, and never more than now. The King's writs I saw the other day, for the parliament sent them to us to be all seen, and so many of them copied as we thought meet. In divers letters under his hand, he presses Ormond to make a firm peace with the Irish, gives him full power to recal all laws against Papists, also Poyning's statutes, which they say are for the dependence of Ireland on the parliament of England; likewise to join with the Irish for casting the Scots out of Ireland. All this he presses may be done quickly, that so powerful supplies may be sent over to him against the rebels of England, and an army to Scotland to land in Cumberland before the end of March last past. There be many letters to the Queen, that she may procure, from Popish princes, help to him on very favourable conditions to Papists. In one of her letters, all in cyphers, but decyphered by the King's hand, she assures him of the Duke of Lorraine's service with 10,000 men. Thanks be to God, all these designs have been crushed by God's hand. Before the Chancellor went, we had given in a paper, as for other things, so for sending to the King, after his overthrow at Naseby, the former three propositions of peace. The parliament returned a civil answer, that after the consideration of the King's writs, they and we behoved to advise how to proceed. We are to press again the sending of the propositions so much the more of the writs, for we think they will contribute to the humbling of the King's mind, and disposing him to do reason both to us and to himself. Some fear the King's obstinacy; others wish it to increase; but the best and the most here think it exceeding necessary to essay if we can have peace on the former propositions. If the Lord harden his heart, that our offers



be refused, one other stroke may break his party without recovery. But when that is done, and we freed from all fears of them, we see a new sea of troubles, wherein we must enter. Though in it we feel no bottom, and can see no shore, however, we must do our duty, and trust in the Lord. Our hearts are exceedingly grieved that yet the wicked enemy there doth subsist, and that the Lord is pleased to strike us so sore with the pestilence. Oh that his hand were not heavy on our hearts! that many were not stupified and hardened! We cannot but expect a glorious issue out of all these troubles, whatever be the personal sins of thousands, and so our just deservings of worse than yet has befallen us; yet truly we must take God to witness, in the midst of the flames of his wrath, that the publick intentions of the godly in the land have been and are for the glory of his name, for the advancement of piety, truth, and righteousness, without the hurt of any flesh, except so far as our necessary defence does compel; so we cannot but confidently hope of the Lord's glorious salvation in the end, and we hope it is near. The Lords this day have nominated their commissioners, Rutland and Wharton. The Commons, the other day, named theirs, Sir Harry Vane elder, Sir William Armyne, Mr Hatcher, and Mr Goodwin. My Lord Chancellor and Lauderdale knows all the men well. I hope their message may strengthen the union of the kingdoms, and help to redress many of our grievances, if God give you grace to manage well.

111. *For my Lord Lauderdale. London, July 15. 1645.*

My Lord,

WE think the dolorous condition of Scotland has hindered you and others to write unto us with the last post. Our hearts are deeply wounded with Billie's defeat. As yet our army here has done nothing. If its credit be not relieved with some successful action quickly, the clamours of this people will arise against it. Cromwell's extraordinary success makes that party here triumph. I wrote to you of L. Digby's intercepted letter, intimating the sending of propositions from some peer to the King, and my discourse with Mr Crauford thereupon. It was the independents study to cast all the odium of trinketing with





Oxford on Hollis, while Savile refuses to decypher the letter wherein he said, it was written to him from Oxford, that Hollis kept weekly correspondence with Digby: he is sent prisoner to the tower. So soon as he comes there, he sends his daughter-in-law, the Lady Temple, with a letter to Mr Gordon, (but first to be communicated to my Lord Sey), requiring him to declare to the House of Commons, that when you were last at Oxford, Hollis had given a paper of propositions to Lindsay and him, to be communicated to the King, according to which the King had framed an answer to your demands: this made din enough. Some would have had Hollis removed the House presently. He declared ingenuously what the matter was, That all of you having conceived the expediency of receiving and returning visits, he, with Mr Whitlock, had visited Lindsay, with whom Savile was; that in discourse he had said, it was in vain to speak of a treaty, unless the three propositions were granted by the King; that Lindsay desired him to set down in what terms he could with the King to pass these propositions: he did so in presence of the whole company; and when Lindsay had taken a copy of it, he took back his paper, and acquainted Wenman and Denbigh thereafter with all. The House appointed a committee to inquire into this action, how innocent soever it was. Hollis's friends have been in great fear for his undoing by it. His only relief was apprehended to stand in bringing forth the Independents real trinketing with Oxford by Savile. They who were able to demonstrate this, were the still committee, your good friends. The one, whose hatred is perfect, was for some days very willing to witness the Brusean would not come on the stage; yet at last was persuaded: but then the other refused. While Mr Hollis is resolute to ruin, before he will bring any of them forth against their minds, behold a strange providence put in our hands three writs of Savile's hand, which evidences his trafficking with Oxford, by my Lord Sey and the Independent party's advice. These we sent to the House of Commons, offering to declare what we knew further to that purpose. The House presently appointed a committee to examine Savile and these writs. He has acknowledged his hand; but by strange juggling evasions. Our fault of you, at such a time, is great. The matter is so clear, that if it had been rightly timed, a little either sooner or later, by all appearance



pearance it had removed that party, which long has obstructed the reformation both of church and kingdom: but their present favour with the city, and all on their double victory, and our neaseance is so great, that all can be brought against them will not prejudice them. And indeed, it seems they have altered a principle, that as, before Leicester, their trafficking was to bring back the King on very dangerous terms, so now, after their great success, it is to cast him clean away. Whatever miseries may follow, yet this conclusion would for once put all power in their friends hands; but the God of justice and truth will not permit them to turn states at their pleasure. Since Marshal is appointed, and willing, to go with the commissioners to Scotland, I am apprehending they have some other business with you than Carlisle. You have now enough of my evil hand. The great God give you courage, wisdom, and success, in this your great strait. So I rest, &c.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

112. *Publick Letter. August 10. 1645.*

WHEN the singular favours of God do lift up our hearts in praises here, and in confidence of a happy issue of this troublesome work, our spirits are deeply wounded within us, and broken by what we hear from time to time from dear Scotland. We are amazed that it should be the pleasure of our God to make us fall thus the fifth time, before a company of the worst men in the earth; and beside all the calamity which the sword of these barbarous men does bring, that our angry God should send upon us a more furious pestilence than ever I heard of in our land: for these things we weep; our eyes run down with water: we cannot but think there is love at the bottom of all this bitterness: the cause here and there is one. If there be any odds, surely the enemy in Scotland, for all kind of wickedness, has it. That the Lord should cast them down here, and set them up there, it is one of the depths of divine wisdom, which we will adore. The constant practice here, on the least appearance of any publick danger, is to flee both to publick and private fasting. Truly the godly here are a praying people, and the parliament is very ready to further this disposition. If the



godly there have the like care, and if the magistrate be alike industrious, to crave the assistance of gracious people's fasting and praying, I know not; only it is my wish that God would make clear, what the cause may be that so long he deserts us. Whatever the matter may be, were I this night to die, my heart does not smite me for any wrong I know our nation has done, in lifting arms against the malignant party, either the first, second, or third time; for daily more and more it appears to the world, that the design of the milled court was, and is, by all means out of hell, to fasten the yoke of tyranny on the necks both of our bodies and souls, for our times, and the days of our posterity; and therefore, what we have done we were absolutely necessitated to it; and whatever troubles God has cast upon us for our present trial, we expect, ere long, a comfortable conclusion; albeit no thanks to them, be who they will, who either by their treachery, or cowardice, or untimely divisions, or groundless jealousies, or neglect of the publick, are the instruments of Scotland's woe. If yet they will not waken, they will perish, not only without any wise man's compassion, but with a mark of infamy on their persons and families for ever. This my great heaviness for the report of my unhappy cousin's defeat has drawn from me: yet let our friends there know for their comfort, the enemy here is going down the wind apace.

Goring's army, in the west, the King's greatest hope, is totally routed by Sir Thomas Fairfax. The remainder of that army, we hope, will not be able to keep the fields in the west long. Wales then only will remain to the King. Our army, blessed be God, is in good case. They are now making over the Severn; for they think it not fit to lie down before Worcester, or any other town, for a long siege, so long as the enemy have any army. We hope the few forces which are with the King in Herefordshire, shall not stay for them. If these, and Hopeton in the west, were dissipated, the next care will be of the garisons, if offers of any equitable peace from the King prevent it not. It seems Montrose shall prove fatal to the King. His victories hitherto have been powerful snares to his hard heart. A little more continuance in this disposition is like to undo him. We proceed in our church-business also; only the affairs of Scotland torment us. We hope the Lord will not forget to be merciful for ever,  
and



and will do it for his name's sake, whatever be our deservings. We are looking when he will be pleased to draw us out of that fiery furnace, as gold tried in the fire, and silver purged more than seven times. We will lie still at his feet; our petitions are nailed to the throne of his mercy; we will wait patiently for our answer.

We have sent down to this meeting of the commission, the whole body of the government, as it is sent up to the parliament from the assembly. You will find few considerable differences from the practice of our church. The other day an order past the House of Commons, for the erection of twelve presbyteries within the lines of communication.

### 113. A Publick Letter.

In the assembly we have gone through a part of the Catechism, and a part of the Confession of Faith; but as many hinderances, when least we expect them, comes in our way, so the other week we were diverted by an occasion which may do us great harm, if God provide not for it. Since April we have not much been troubled with the Independents; for since that time they have been about the model of their way, and have not since much minded the assembly; and what they have done yet, all is a secret. Many think they cannot agree among themselves: but if we should be quit of them, we have no scant of sectaries to the common cause. Paul Best, the Antitrinitarian, took up some of our days. Mr Archer's blasphemous book, called *The Author of the very sinfulness of Sin*, took up more of our time before we got it burnt by the hand of the hangman. Mr Colman's sermon to the House of Commons, the first fast day, exhorting them to keep all the church-government in their own hand, and to give churchmen none of it, took up some days also. The Lords pressing to have their chaplains and families excused, as before, from ecclesiastick jurisdiction; such things are a little fashious to us: but that which is like to vex us, is another matter wherein we have need of your earnest prayers to God; for a far less matter may be occasion of great evil. The most part of the House of Commons, especially the lawyers, whereof there are many, and divers of them very able men, are either half or whole E-

rassians,





raffians, believing no church-government to be of divine right, but all to be a human constitution, depending on the will of the magistrate. About this matter we have had, at divers times, much bickering with them: now it is come to a shock. Ever since the directory came out, we have been pressing for a power to hold all ignorant and scandalous persons from the table: with much ado this was granted; but so as we behoved to set down the points: this we agreed. But for the scandalous, when we had long essayed, we could not make such an enumeration, but always we found more of the like nature, which could not be expressed; therefore we required to have power to exclude all scandalous, as well as some. The general they would not grant, as including an arbitrary and unlimited power. Our advice was, that they would go on to set up their presbyteries and synods with so much power as they could get; and after they were once settled, then they might strive to obtain their full due power. But the synod was in another mind; and after divers fair papers, at last they framed a most zealous, clear, and peremptor one, wherein they held out plainly the church's divine right to keep off from the sacrament, all who were scandalous; and if they cannot obtain the free exercise of that power which Christ hath given them, they will lay down their charges, and rather chuse all afflictions than to sin by profaning the holy table. The House is highly inflamed with this petition, and seems resolute to refuse it. The assembly is as peremptor to have it granted; for upon this point, they say, depends their standing, all the godly being resolved to separate from them, if there be not a power, and care, to keep the profane from the sacraments. If the Lord assist us not in this difficulty, it may be the cause of great confusion among us. The House has appointed a conference with us to-morrow afternoon, and we purpose to require a grand committee thereafter, that we may press our interest of uniformity. We are hopeful, by God's help, to obtain our point, if this jar delay it not. We expect this week, that over all London, elders and deacons shall be chosen for every congregation, and then in a week or two, that the thirteen presbyteries, and the provincial synods, within the lines, shall be set up; and so without delay in the other shires; for orders are drawn already for this effect. All here are full of hope, that with the settling of these orders the heresies,



refies, the schifms, the ignorance, and profanity, which do exceedingly every where here abound, shall quickly, if not evanish, yet be diminished.

Sir Thomas Fairfax, after the taking of Bridgewater, and of Bath, and Wells, lies about Sherburn, waiting for his recruits. It is thought Massey and he will make a great army. The Prince, Hopeton, and Goring, are raising what power they can, beyond them, in the West; but it is not likely they can keep the field, except it be in a piece of Cornwall. Our army is lying at Hereford; and hopes, by God's help, in a few days to carry it. The King hath, in Wales, some thousand horse, but few foot. They say he has gone to Chester, and from thence intends, as some say, to Ireland, and others to Scotland. If he come to Scotland, I trust we shall be so wise and Christian as to remember our covenant, and remove these wicked instruments from him, that have brought so much evil both on him and all the three kingdoms. If God would dispose his heart to accept of these necessary propositions whereupon both parliaments did agree, we might yet have peace; but if these wicked men will put him upon new designs, our troubles will yet for a time continue. If it might please God to look upon Scotland, all here go very well, blessed be God.

We hear that the Great Turk is fallen with his naval army upon Creta, and with his land-army upon the other territories of the Venetians. They speak of a peace at last betwixt the Swedes and the Danes, to the Danes great prejudice. The Prince of Orange lies still in the fields, and yet hath enterprised nothing. After Linken, the French have taken in Borborough; so there remains now nothing betwixt them and Dunkirk. Duke d'Anguieu and the Bavarians are near one another; but yet have not fought. It yet holds that Forstenson and Ragotski are joined; but have done nothing more of importance against the Emperor. All they in Italy join with the Venetians against the Turk. Affairs in Europe, these many ages, were not in a greater and more dangerous situation than at this hour. Our thoughts are, that the Lord is shaking the foundations of kingdoms and states, to make way for the great propagation of the gospel, which the godly here and elsewhere are expecting shortly, according to the Lord's promise.



114. *A Publick Letter.*

SINCE my last on Monday by sea, I can add nothing for the matters of our church. All this week, both publickly in the assembly, and more privately in our committees, we have been preparing our papers for the satisfaction of the House of our divine right to keep scandalous persons from the holy table, and of our necessity to stand to a general rule for scandals, a particular enumeration being in itself impossible, and never required in any church in any time. Blessed be God, we gain ground on the minds of sundry of the parliament; yet how long we may stick here, we know not.

Sir Thomas Fairfax is yet before Sherburne. We heard little or nothing of the King for two or three weeks; but behold, for one twenty-four hours, and no longer, he put us all aghast. By very swift long marches he came from Wales to Newark, with 2000 or 3000 horse. We were much afraid he would go to Yorkshire from Newark, with 4000 too, good horse. We saw no opposition to him till he had gone through all the north. Our army being so engaged at Hereford that it could not rise. Sir Thomas Fairfax being far in the west, and having a strong enemy on his hand, might not for the time look north. All our intelligence assured the King's intention was for Scotland, where we feared his opposition should be small, having Montrose, and the pest, and many false-hearted men there to join with him. While yesterday all day we were tormented with these thoughts, and saw no help but in God; behold, at nine o'clock a post from our army did fully consent, for they knowing of the King's motion, had presently sent after him the most of their horse. David Leslie and Middleton, with near 4000 horse and dragoons, were, on Wednesday, within twenty miles of him. The English have ordered to join as many to them, all to be under David Leslie's command; so our fears are secured on that side, blessed be the gracious name of the Lord. We hope a few days shall put Hereford in our hands. Already four of the best shires in Wales have sent to our general to offer their submission to the parliament. We are pressing to send the propositions of peace to the King, hoping, when all things



things conjoin to cross his designs, it may be the will of God to soften his heart, to pity himself and his suffering people. I hope the Lord will give you courage and patience for a little time; for we trust it shall be the pleasure of God to answer our prayers, and to remove from us his fore rods of war and pestilence. O! if it may be his pleasure to bring us as gold out of the fire, and to make all our sad afflictions be means of sanctifying the land: we cannot think that the Lord will destroy Scotland. I hope there is more of the spirit of grace and supplication upon us than before did appear. We got sundry advertisements from France, of Col. Cochran's sending of a ship of arms to Montrose, from the Queen, from Nantz in Bretagne, to Murray frith, and that now himself has followed. Whither may not apostasy carry men of the fairest hopes! —

115. *To Mr William Spang. London, August 15. 1645.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I have not written for some weeks. My sermon to the Lords the last fast-day, the preparing and printing of it was a fashy to me, being added to our ordinary task. But the chief cause of not writing was fear of intercepting. Savile's business for a time made a fell stir among us. Cranford had overlashed, I suspect, something in the matter, but much in form; however, the witness deposed against him, words that indeed were false and scandalous, but which he peremptorily denies that ever he spoke. Your friend's part was well taken by all; the most malicious had nothing to reprove in it. He got his desire, that the matter was put to a more accurate trial than ever it would else have been. Savile and Sey brought Hollis on the stage; but he did acquit himself with a great deal of credit, both to himself and his friends, and of discontent to his opposites. By that occasion our commissioners gave in to the House sundry papers, which to our mind evidences Savile's trinketing with Oxford, by the advice and knowledge, as he writes with his hands, of the Independent party; and names my L. Sey; but with strange juggling would clude it. The most of the House being gone to the country for their health, it was thought fit to adjourn that committee of examinations for five

VOL. II.

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weeks. We resolve to do our best to find out the truth. Mr Cranford's sentence did sleep without so much as any intimation of it to him till Friday last, when on a sudden he was commanded to the tower. We think it was for his neglect to petition, and are hopeful within a day or two to get him free. *The Rise and Reign of the Antinomians of New England*, you shall have with the first occasion. I pray you write for so much as may once put me out of your debt. I think, Mr Rutherford and I may go home within a month; for our work here is drawing near a period. I got my Scots letters: commend me to Harrie. Jo. Henderson writes to me, that you had written to me of his design; but surely I know nothing of it. His brother has written twice to me to understand it; but I cannot answer but by conjectures. Send this letter to him. Erasmus is the book vexes us most. None of the assembly, for their life, can do any thing of moment. Were we free, there is above a dozen would beat him to dust. If you would move Apollonius or Cabellarius to give him a succinct and nervous answer, it would be a reasonable service both to us and to Holland. They are both engaged, and well versed in that cause. See what you can do with both, and with Vossius, if he have any leisure. I wish he had never meddled with the Independents. If Spanheim's book were come out, I wish he were intreated to go on with his Anabaptists. Vossius said to me he had a large treatise against them, and would put it out. It is the prevailing sect here. I have written to D. Stewart, to put Spanheim and Vossius on the Anabaptists, and L'Emperour on Erasmus. My hearty service to your wife. I rest.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

116. To Mr Cranford, prisoner in the Tower of London.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

YOUR affliction has been one of the heaviest burdens that ever came upon my mind, and will be so still till you be fully delivered. The reason of my not visiting you was from no unkindness, for that is very far from me; but from an information of a wife and good friend to us both, who told me, that my visiting you was against your laws,  
and



and would be evil taken. However, so soon as I heard of your imprisonment, I resolved to venture, come of it what might. But yesternight, after I had told so much to some of your friends, and had resolved to have been with you this day, I went to Mr \_\_\_\_\_ to enquire the cause of your imprisonment, and the best way of getting you free. He told me, that after he had thought your business would have slept and died without any more hearing, it had come in abruptly; by whom, or which way, he could not tell; that the sentence was for no words you had confessed, but for the words that three or four witnesses had positively deposed, which I believe you never thought, much less spoke, viz. That the sub-committee had assumed a power to themselves to treat for their own safety, and to deliver over to the King the parliament forces and garrisons. He told me, that the framing of the words which the House would require of you for satisfaction, was given to a committee, wherein he and Mr Selden had a chief hand, and that they were agreed to require no more of you, but a general acknowledgement of your sorrow, that from any thing you had spoken, any had been offended; something to this purpose, without putting you to confess any words which might be against your mind. He wished you to petition for your freedom so soon as you can; that he himself would second it, and hopes your desire will be granted. I told him, that as yet I had not seen you, for fear of offence; but was resolved to see you, and carry you his information. He desired me to write it; but, as I would not do you harm, that I should not visit you; for again and again he assured me, that my appearing at this time in your cause would make it much the worse. This is the only reason, why, sore against my heart, I do not this day come to you, lest I should be so unhappy as to be occasion to you of farther evil. There is nothing that either myself or any of my friends are able to do for you, but we will be most willing to do it, when we know when to apply ourselves so as we may truly help you, and not procure you more trouble. What was given in to the House about my Lord Savile, cannot be communicate by any of us without great offence. I trust the Lord God, who is witness to the honesty of your heart, will furnish you with comfort and strength, and ere long will deliver you,



to all our joy. So do I pray, and rest your loving brother and fellow sufferer.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

117. To Mr William Spang. September 5. 1645.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I got yours with Apollonius, and I hope both will testify our great respects to them so far as you could wish. Send me the rest of Forbes. I like the book very well, and the man much the better for the book's sake. I marvel I can find nothing in its index against the Millenaries. I cannot think the author a Millenary. I cannot dream why he should have omitted an error so famous in antiquity, and so troublesome among us; for the most of the chief divines here, not only Independents, but others, such as Twisse, Marshall, Palmer, and many more, are express Chiliaists. It is needful, if his judgement be right, that he should amend that omission, by an express and large appendix. I like Croius's learning passing well. But I pray put the price to these eight. Let me know once my debt; how oft shall I call for it? If Harry be there, tell him it is not my advice he should go home till he hear farther from Glasgow. The case of that land is wonderful evil. This day we had a publick fast in all the churches within the lines for the miseries of Scotland. I confess I am amazed, and cannot see to my mind's satisfaction, the reasons of the Lord's dealing with that land. The sins of all ranks there I know to be great, and the late mercies of God, spiritual and temporal, towards them to have been many; but what means the Lord, so far against the expectation of the most clear-sighted, to humble us so low, and by his own immediate hand, I confess I know not. I never expected the clear and solid fruit of our reformation, till we had some time to work in our churches without distractions and fear, which these seven years we never had. Of the causes which some cast in our teeth, our consciences absolve us. We have not opposed the King, nor bishops, nor sects, farther than was our duty. We were necessitated, in piety, charity, and prudence, to assist England. I have not yet seen the grounds of that which some exaggerate so much, of the divisions, much less of the treachery of our nobles. I hear



hear of a great deal of impenitency and hardness of heart in the best, and a world of backwardness, terror, and cowardice, in the most. I hope the Lord will not destroy that nation in the very act of maintenance of so good a cause. However, I believe, since William Wallace's days, or rather since Fergus the Second, our land was never in the present condition

The pest hath laid Leith and Edinburgh desolate, and rages in many more places. Never such a pest seen in Scotland. That this should have trusted the enemy at that time and place, when we had most to do with Leith and Edinburgh, is evidently God's hand.

The particulars of this sixth victory I yet have not fully heard. The slaughter, captivity, and flight, was most shameful. Glasgow came out, and componed, as some say, for 18,000 lib.; as others, for 10,000 merks. Some say, that after he got the money, he plundered the town, fortified the castle, took with him 500 of their men, and left 500 of his own. For my books, and all I have, I care not much; but I long much to know what is become of my wife and children, and my dear colleagues and friends. After Glasgow, the most of Clydesdale and Linlithgowshire componed. Edinburgh sent him out Crawford and Ogilbie, and all the prisoners, and, they say, 30,000 lib. The Marquis of Douglas, Queensberry, Hartfield, Annandale, took commissions to raise men; the sherrifdom of Ayr keeps together in a body of 4000 or 5000 men; they expect assistance from Galloway; Buccleugh has 2000 or 3000 together in the south; and Seaforth some in the north.

But our first hopes are from David Lesly's horse. On Tuesday was eight days, when we had spoiled the King's northern exceeding dangerous design, and chased him back to Newark and Oxford, where in his way the King spoiled much the associations; upon letters from Scotland, he rose presently from Nottingham, with his 4000 horse, and went in haste towards Carlisle and Scotland. If the Lord be with him, he may put Montrose again to the hills: yet his rashness has been very great; for he has left our foot-army naked about Hereford, and now the King is gone thither; albeit it seems it had been much more needful for him to have gone and joined with Goring for the raising of the siege of Bristol, which is in hazard of being taken, and Rupert in it. Our army having resolved their march





to Scotland, did excuse yesterday their not storming of Hereford. That is but a small disgrace, in respect of the rest that the Lord has heaped upon us. We pray, God give wisdom and courage, and continue fidelity in our officers, if the King should pursue them with his large 5000 horse. If the King misken them, and join with Goring, he will be large as strong as Sir Thomas Fairfax; and if he should beat him, which the Lord God avert, he should in a trice overthrow our affairs; and if he be beat again, Montrose will not be able to support him.

Yet all here is in the balance. In the assembly we are going on languidly with the Confession of Faith and Catechism. The minds of the divines are much enfeebled by the House their delay to grant the petition, a power to seclude from the table all scandalous persons as well as some. Mr Prin and the Erastian lawyers are now our *remora*. The Independents and sects are quiet, enjoying peaceably all their desires, and increasing daily their party. They speak no more of bringing their model in the assembly. We are afraid that this shameful and monstrous delay of building the Lord's house, and their ingratitude and unkindness to us in our deep sufferings for them, will provoke God against them, which we oft earnestly deprecate; for their misery will be ours, and their welfare will profit all the Reformed churches. I believe in time they will do all we desire. You shall get some of my sermons with Apollonius. I thought to have been going home about this time; but now whether to go I know not. The greatest mischief is, that Montrose puts people to a new oath. This will be a seed of great trouble when he is away. I am afraid for our friends miscarriage. Farewell. The committee at the army has sent us orders to answer Thomas Cunningham 5000 lib. Sterling, whereof I am glad. My service to your wife.

Mr Cranford, on his first motion to the House, was let free, without any word of acknowledgement. If our Scots affairs had not put such things out of our heads, we might have put Savile and others hard to it. The recruiting of the House, procured by the cunning and diligence of that party, what it will produce, we are yet in doubt. Some think it will bring many favourers of sectaries and malignants into the House; some think otherwise.



118. *A Publick Letter.* London, October 14. 1645.

FOR the great and seasonable mercies of God to desolate Scotland, our afflicted spirits do rejoyce in God. Since he has begun to stretch out his arm for our deliverance, we hope he will not draw it back till he give us more matter of praise. We trust he will call back the destroying angel, and persecute the cruel enemy till he be no more. We hope the Lord will give repentance to that land, that after all these troubles we may be a holy and sanctified people; also, that those who ever have been but false-hearted, and now are discovered, and taken in the snare, will be so disposed upon, that they be no more able to serve the enemy. How matters go here, the last three diurnals will shew. The war here seems to be near an end. The taking of Bristol brought in to us several other places about it, and has lost Prince Rupert to the King. Whether the flagrant reports of his deliverance of Bristol to us be true or not, yet it is like he is so far in disgrace at court, that he will serve no more. The King's total rout at Chester, at Prins, wherein the Duke of Lennox's brother, Bernard, the captain of the guard, was killed, and Sir Thomas Gleinham taken, has put the King in that condition, that he neither has, nor is like to have, any more the face of an army in England. Goring's forces in a corner of the west are decreased. Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the most of his army, are going towards him. Cromwell, with the rest, are taking the places about Winchester. It seems, the field being cleared, they intend Massey to block up Exeter, and Fairfax to lie about Oxford, and our army about Newark. It is hoped, by God's blessing, these places will be gotten, all hope of relief being desperate. It is thought Chester before this time is gotten. Prins purposes to attend the King. The Prince's letter to the parliament is not yet taken into consideration; yet we think, that it and our earnest desires will bring on a treaty of peace.

Great wrestling have we for the erecting of our presbytery. It must be a divine thing to which so much resistance is made by men of all sorts; yet, by God's help, we will very speedily see it set up, in spite of the devil. We have great difficulties on all hands; yet if the Lord continue to  
blink



blink in mercy upon Scotland, they will diminish. I long extremely to hear the condition of Glasgow, what the enemy has done in it, and how now it fares; what is become of my dear brethren and colleagues, and their families; and what of my own. We hear particularly from almost all the parts of Scotland weekly; but since that black day at Killyth, we have got nothing particularly from Glasgow. I hope some good friend will satisfy my desire, in letting me know the condition of that town; which, whatever the world speaks of some persons in it, I must love while I live, and pray for its welfare. You have here a copy of the papers which we gave this day in to the House.

Affairs here go, by God's blessing, so prosperously, that there is no more fear of the malignant party. Many now leave Oxford daily. The Marquis of Hereford, Lord Lovelace, and others, came hither last week; also the Lord Abercorn, Sir James Hamilton of Priestfield, Sir James Galloway. Legge, the Governor of Oxford, is laid fast, and Glenham put in his place. The commission of Generalissimo is taken from Prince Rupert. Cromwell has taken Winchester castle, and Basing also. Sir Thomas Fairfax is not yet come up to Goring. We expect Chester daily. Prins waits about Newark on the King's motions. There are here very great exceptions taken, at our army's doing nothing all this year but plundering the country as they went through it. Some exaggerate this very much. If we come not up ere long to quarter about Newark, and when we come, if our army be not more considerable, and better disciplined, it will not be possible to keep matters long here fair. It is like they will not enter seriously on any treaty for peace till the time of action be past, and the armies go to their winter-quarters; then, I believe, they will try the King if he will accept of the propositions. We fear much his obstinacy.

We were in a long expectation of a model from the Independents; but yesterday, after seven months waiting, they have scorned us. The assembly having put them to it, to make a report of their diligence, they gave us in a sheet or two of injurious reasons why they would not give us any reasons of their tenets. We have appointed a committee to answer that libel. We think they agree not among themselves, and that there are many things among them which they are loth to profess, which, by God's



help, ere long I mind to do for them in their own words. But our greatest trouble for the time is from the Erastians in the House of Commons. They are at last content to erect presbyteries and synods in all the land, and have given out their orders for that end; yet they give to the ecclesiastick courts so little power, that the assembly finding their petitions not granted, are in great doubt whether to set up any thing, till, by some powerful petition of many thousand hands, they obtain some more of their just desires. The only mean to obtain this, and all else we desire, is our recruited army about Newark. The inlacks of that army is the earthly fountain of all our difficulties here. If our distressed land be able to remeid it, it would be done quickly; else evils will grow both here and with you at home.

119. *For Mr George Young. October 1645.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

If I should be silent, I might be excused by your example. We hear weekly from all the parts of Scotland; only I in all the company have no friends. I pray you amend this fault. I write at least with every other post. Think you not that I have reason to desire to know, and you to satisfy me, in the estate of my friends, after so fearful a storm? Let me know who are your magistrates, and how; what is become of the Commissar, the Principal, Sir Robert Douglas, the old magistrates, the ministers of the town and presbytery, regents, and other my friends; what have been their actions and sufferings in the time of great trial. The packet runs weekly. Strange! not so much wit among you as to get a letter convoyed to the packet. If ye would send to Berwick to my Lady Argyle, or Lady Loudon, I would not miss them; but you are forgetful of your friends, who have too much mind of you.

Our hearts here are oft much weighted and wounded by many hands. Our wrestlings with devils and men are great. However the body of this people be as good as any people, yet they that rule all are much opposite to our desires. Some very few guide all now at their pleasure, only through the default of our army. For this long time they have not trusted us; but have had their secret fear





of our colluding with the King. Our doing nothing since the taking of Newcastle; our lying still in the north too long; and when we moved, our running back to Carlisle; when we were drawn up to Hereford, our lying there for no purpose; and when we returned, our plunderings all the way, are much exaggerated. We answer for all the best we can: but truly the letter sent by Digby to the General, and by him to us this night, importing the King's desire of an answer of a former letter; in confidence of the good effect whereof, he was come with a body of horse to Newark through many difficulties; which former letter the General professed he never saw, make us fear there has been some design with some in our army which is not honest. However, the army's want of success, by the miseries of our country hindering their recruits, by the injustice of this people to furnish them with pay, have put all our affairs out of frame. The faction that here prevails, minding liberty of conscience, and finding it impossible to gain us to oversee that so great a fault, have made that their work to be quit of us. They have occasioned many provocations, to vex us, and make us vex others. I cannot write the half of their unjust, proud, and unjust dealings.

The miscarriage of our army they exaggerate. We say, by their withdrawing all the promised pay the seven last months, not giving one month's pay, have forced us to take by violence for our subsistence, and disabled us to do any service, of purpose to make us odious; that their own army, which they have put in the hand only of sectaries, or their confident friends, they have furnished with men and money every fortnight, and were sure in all enterprises to have it ever the stronger; so that it was an easy matter for them to do all their services, and be cried up. The assembly is much discouraged; they find their advice altogether slighted; a kind of presbytery set up; sects daily spreading over all the land, without any care at all to restrain them; a clear aim in the prevailing party to have a liberty universal; an utter dislike of our nation for opposing their designs, and driving it so high, that ways are studied, if no better may be, to break the union of the nation; and have us, for the carriage of our army, declared the first breakers to them, and dealt with us as such. We do what we are able to prevent mischief. We cry to God, who knows the honesty of our hearts, and the dishonesty



honesty of theirs; the cause of our engagement, and our huge suffering; their great ingratitude to us, and our great patience to them. It is gone already very high. We fear that they make Digby seem to deal with us, while they in truth know how to get the King from us to themselves on their own terms; and if we be not willing to compone in what terms, both for religion and state, they please, to cast us off; and for the recompence of all our labours, to turn on our poor, broken, distressed country the armies of both. The best way we know to prevent this, is to haste up our army, well recruited and disciplined, to Newark, having cashiered all who are the known instruments of delauchery, or can be proven to have kept correspondence with the enemy. This, in spite of the Independent plots, would help all: for the body of the parliament, city, and country, are for the presbytery, and love us, and hate the sectaries; but are all overwitted and overpowered by a few, whom the service and aQiveness of our army would undo. Thrice unhappy are these men who have disabled that army from service: they have sacrificed the honour of their country, and prospering of religion in these dominions, to their own base designs; they have put us on the brink of losing all our intentions, and bringing a worse war on our kingdom than ever we feared: yet God will help all, if we can clear the honesty of our army, by finding out some few ill persons, and laying them aside; if we will, by after diligence, help former negligence; if we will govern well the garrisons we find necessary to keep, as it will be necessary for a time to keep three. But of these things much more than I purposed; only I thought good to let you know the inside of our affairs. If we be able to send up to Newark a reasonable army, we will be very welcome to this people; we will without difficulty, in my mind, get that strong place; for all relief being desperate, they will not long stand out. Whatever be to do, either for the Presbyterians here, who are incomparably the strongest, or at home, we will always have that army ready; but if we for any reason be unable or unwilling to send up that army, this people's jealousies and angers against us will increase; they will give us nothing; the Presbyterians here will succumb and faint; our army will disband and evaish, and a long and will follow. Thir things to you only and Mr David, and to whom you think expedient. Remember what I wrote about the psalms; haste up the committee's animad-



versions. Mr Samuel and Mr George are busy with the press, and I will be so for one five or six weeks thereafter. I could wish to be at home, not before, except I would lose my former labours.

120. *For Mr William Spang. October 17. 1645.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

NOR only incident affairs sometimes by expectation on the post-day, but especially grief of mind for the state of affairs, makes me more sparing to write than otherwise I could wish. You have here a double of my last three to Scotland. I can add little. However, the Lord has shown us a great mercy there; yet the miseries of that land is great, and the dangers greater. The Lord made these men so mad as to stay for our army's coming to them in a plain field. Above 1000 were buried in the place; whereof scarce 15 were ours. Mr Macdonald, with some 400 or 500 some days before, were gone to Argyle; for his friends in the isles were wracked by a party of the Marquis of Argyle. Montrose, with 200 or 300 horse, got to Athol. Gordon was before in the north. David Leslie went straight to Glasgow, where he borrowed from that people 20,000 lib. as the annual rent of 50,000 they gave to Montrose. Neither the one nor other army did any violence in that town, to my great joy. Mr David and Mr Robert Ramsay fled to Houston, and there remained safe; all the rest staid. The Commissar was too busy for Montrose; for which, they say, he is now fast, and it is thought will not come off while he leave his place, and a great fine beside. I fear the Principal's case shall be little better. It is good to be honest at the heart. It is marvellous how few handfuls of the enemy went, after the fight of Killyth, through Fife, Lothian, shire of Ayr, without any opposition but a general submission of all who did not flee. This shame for an age will not be put off us. The English condemn us much the more. They have sent commissioners to crave Newcastle and Carlisle from us, and all our places of garrisons but Berwick. They are angry, that yet we have not given them a meeting. At this very time we are treating with them at St Andrew's. What to do with them we know not. If we now give up these places, it will make them the more intemperate; if we refuse



refuse them on never so fair terms, it will increase the occasion of them who are seeking a quarrel. Yet I hope God will direct. To clear our reputation, we have printed some of our late papers to satisfy the ignorance of the people. In answer to our last paper, the House of Commons have passed sundry very strange and unkind votes, wherewith the Lords have yet refused to concur. The King's party here is taken for irrecoverable. They speak of Pirno and Montbason levying of 10,000 French underhand, to be sent over to Falmouth by a convoy of the Prince of Orange's ships. We take this for a fable. Fairfax is expected daily to be at Goring, and so to get back all the west but Exeter at one stroke.

Give one of my sermons to Apollonius, one to Thomas Cunningham, and one to Mr Strickland, with my service. At St Andrew's now they will advise how to recruit and reform our English army. It is thought Sinclair, Montgomery, Livingstone, and others, have had some dealing with William Fleming for the King. Very great profanity has been in that army. God will never bless it as it is; it has never been attended with ministers. Many would have attended that service; but they could get no maintenance. It is thought Johnston, Ogilbie, Sir John Hay, Spotswood, and divers others of the prisoners, will, at that meeting, lose their heads, that once some justice may be done on some for example; albeit to this day no man in England has been executed for bearing arms against the parliament. David Leslie must go quickly back with the most of the army to England; for Scotland is overburdened with them long ago, and cannot maintain them; so we fear that Montrose, Gordon, and Macdonald, run yet again over an extremely weakened and divided country. The pest continues yet to rage. The divisions of our people are not yet cured: the hearts of our people are not softened with all our plagues. The Lord be merciful to us. I must end.

Your Cousin,

JAMESONE.

121. For Mr William Spang. October 24. 1645.

Reverend and Dear Brother,  
 WITH the last post I wrote to you at length. I can tell





tell you little more since. I think we cannot presently give over all our garrisons in England: and upon our refusal, or but delay to the \_\_\_\_\_ of our parliament in December, what evil course this people will take with us, I know not; for sundry of the leading men are not well disposed towards us. It is true, our army's fruitlessness this whole year, and their too great plunder in their marches, irritates them; and, what is worse, the great appearances that the King has been tampering with them, gives them great jealousies of us; and their extraordinary successes, with our extraordinary present weakening by the pest, sword, and want of trade, blows them up to a great contempt of us, so that our union with them is not so infrangible as need were: yet the most and best of them will be loth to forget our kindness to them in their distress, and our recovering them from their miseries by casting ourselves in the pit of all our present woes. That we may remeid and remove the present matter of their irritation, we have sent my Lord Wariston and Mr Barclay away post this day to the army, and thereafter to Scotland, to cause our army come to block up Newark, and take their winter-quarters about it. My Lord Chancellor, the next week, will go home for that same end. Mr Henderson and I are appointed to follow within a fortnight, to see if we can further a better union and correspondence among ourselves at home than has been this twelve months. It seems Digby and Langdale intended to have kept Montrose's parliament at Glasgow, but God laid a straw in their way. In their route, Digby's coach was taken, and sundry of his writs; which shews the King's resolution to have no peace but on his own terms; albeit this people, for all we can say, are yet backward and unready to make any such motion to him.

Unhappily Amirant's questions are brought in our assembly. Many more love these fancies here than I expected. It falls out ill that Spanheim's book is so long a coming out, whileas Amirant's treatise goes in the assembly from hand to hand; yet I hope this shall go right. The city and assembly are on a better way than before, to make the parliament for more liberty to suspend from the table scandalous persons, than they would willingly grant. We expect daily to hear of Goring's defeat, and so the King has not any face of an army in England, nor appearance of any possibility to keep the field more for  
the



the time. He, Rupert, and Maurice, are almost besieged in Newark: they dare hardly venture to come out; and if they stay a little longer, they may be besieged close. Shew me if you desire the English Annotations. I pray you, without farther delay, in your next letter, let me know what English money I am in your debt. I think I can receive no more of your letters, after this coming to your hands, than one. Only Mr Henderson, against my mind, is resolved to go by sea. I hope the wind will not the second time miscarry us. My hearty service to Apollonius, and to your kind wife. So I rest your cousin.

My piece against the Independents is on the press.

122. *A Publick Letter.* November 25. 1645.

THINGS here go on prosperously, blessed be God, as you may see by the inclosed diurnal. The King, with much ado, is come from Newark to Oxford. He has no part of an army for the fields, but some with Goring in the west, of whom Fairfax hopes shortly to make a good account. My Lord Chancellor, Mr Henderson, and I with them, thought, before this, to have been on our journey for Scotland; but with great importunity the Chancellor yet has been kept, the greatest affairs coming presently in hand that yet we have treated of, and my Lord Balmerino's health not permitting him to attend the committee. The other two, Sir Charles Erskine, and Major Kennedy, being simply unwilling to take the burden of so weighty affairs on them, as the matter of the garrisons, which the English are very instant to have; the marching of our army to Newark; the propositions of peace, which the English are like to alter more than we desire; especially the renewing of the committee of accommodation, wherein the toleration of the Independents will come in agitation; no man of our nation, either for abilities, or credit with this people, is so fit for these great things as the Chancellor. However, the affairs of our kingdom, and his own private affairs and vehement desires, do press him to go home; yet all of us, and all that love us, are earnest for his stay for farther time. The same cause I fear may keep Mr Henderson here also longer than I could wish; for we have resolved all of us, that he should go down when my L. Wariston went.



went. But since other emergents have interveened for the time, we are irresolute. We expect an express from Scotland; for with this post we have no directions.

In the assembly, we are going on with the Confession of Faith. We had long and tough debates about the decrees of election; yet thanks to God all is gone right according to our mind. That which has taken up much of the assembly's time and mind, these six or seven weeks, is their manifold petitions to the parliament, for a full liberty to keep from the holy table all scandalous persons. The parliament calls this an arbitrary power, and requires the assembly to make an express enumeration of all the sins for which they intend to censure. After many returns, we gave them in an enumeration of many particulars, but withal craves a general clause to be added. We have some more hope to attain it by God's help than before. This has been the only impediment why the presbyteries and synods have not been erected; for the ministers refuse to accept of presbyteries without this power. Had it been God's will that our army this summer had done any service, we had long before this obtained all our desires; or yet, if we could send any considerable strength to Newark, we would have great influence in their counsels. All good men here desire the continuance of the union of the nations, and know, as well as we, that in that union the happiness of both doth consist, and in the breach of it the lasting miseries of both are certain ruin.

This much I did write to be sent with that post which was taken; but by good luck it fell by, and did not then go. Since, our affairs here for the state are in some better posture. The Chancellor's labours have been so blessed, that the desires of these who seemed to be seeking a breach with us, are for the time either broken or laid aside; so, upon the pressing necessities of our land, he is dismissed, and this day takes journey. No living man is fitter to deal with this people; none of our nation is so much beloved, or of so much credit with them. We are now hot on the committee for accommodation. I tell my mind freely of it in my preface to my Dissuasive from the errors of the time, which now is abroad, and whereof I shall send some copies with the first occasion. We never expected any good of it, and less now than ever. The ministers of London sent from their meeting some twenty of their number to intreat, that the Chancellor and Sir Henderson



derſon might ſtay for ſome time. After adviſement, we thought all that Mr Henderson's ſtay was ſimply neceſſary, ſo much the more as the Chancellor behoved to go. We had never ſo much need of your prayers. The city, both magiſtrates and miniſters, are now engaged, bleſſed be God, in very home and earneſt petitions for the erection of general and provincial aſſemblies, of preſbyteries and ſeſſions, and all with their full power. The Independents in their laſt meeting of our grand committee of accommodation have expreſſed their deſires for toleration, not only to themſelves but to other ſects. The parliament has no great inclination to ſatisfy either. What may come of this, we know not; only it were our heart's deſire that our army at Newark were recruited. Nothing is better for the good of Scotland, for the welfare of the whole iſle, and the Proteſtant religion. If God make us either unable or unwilling to this, the loſs will be great to us and all.

We go on daily in ſome propoſition of the Confefſion of Faith: till this be ended we will not take in any more of the catechiſm. The pſalms are perfected: the beſt that without all doubt ever yet were extant. They are on the preſs; but not to be peruſed till they be ſent to you, and your animadverſions returned hither, which we wiſh were ſo ſoon as might be. The Lord give our poor land the fruit of their grievous troubles, and haſte their deliverance.

123. *To Mr William Spang. November 29. 1645.*

Dear Couſin,

I think you were never ſo far behind with me as now I am with you. I think theſe fix or ſeven poſts I have heard nothing from you. I ſee the Engliſh Annotations and my Sermons, which, four or five weeks ago, I gave to Mr Tirence, are not yet gone. I have ſent you ſeven of my Diſſuaſives; only one for yourſelf; the reſt, with my ſervice, to Thomas Cunningham, Mr Strickland, Apollonius, Spanheim, Dr Stuart, and Voetius. As you have occaſion to ſend them, ſend always a Sermon with a Diſſuaſive. I expect a ſhower of Independents about my ears; but I am not feared: I have a reſerve of more ſtories, and I think they will have more to do ſhortly, for





their elusory denial to the assembly, of their model they caused print under the name of a remonstrance, to which the assembly has made a large and sharp answer, which lays them more even; also their rejecting of all accommodation, and pleading for a toleration, not only of their separate churches, but for the other sects, gives great offence, and will draw out bitter writs quickly against them. The city continues zealous for to press their petition; more hopes we have from them than ever. The parliament is laying the assembly and city's petition more to heart. Our condition in Scotland is not good; but you know all there as well as I. Upon the city's earnest desires, and some other considerations, Mr Henderson's voyage and mine to Scotland is stayed. I pray you let me be once out of your debt, and write to me what English money I am owing. Gomarus and Rivet goes to the college-count. You would do well to set Dr Forbes on a supplement, wherein he may handle Anabaptism, Antinomianism, the Érasian, and the rest of the modern sects. Will you intreat him to press his friend Vossius to print that he told me he had ready against the Anabaptists, the greatest and most prevalent sect here. In tumultuous ways they provoke our chief ministers to publick disputations for paedobaptism. I thank you for Clopenburg. I wish Spanheim made this his principal work. The Lord be with you.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

124. *To Mr William Spang.*

Cousin,

Yours with the last post I received, also your large one with the former. I admitted your reasons for my long want. All that I sent you is frozen in the Thames; when you may have them, I know not. I doubt much if my debt be so little as 9 s. If you miscount, to yourself be it said. Josephus you shall have with the first fair weather; for now there is here a vehement frost. The first impression of my Dissuasive is away already. It is going again to the press. I got thanks for it from many. I wish you might put Forbes to go on with his history, especially of the Anabaptists, Libertines, and such as presently vex us. I wrote



to you to cause some press Vossius to print what he told me he had beside him against the Anabaptists. When Spanheim is free of Amiran, I wish he went on with his *Collegium Anabaptisticum*. These are the sectaries who most increase amongst us. Thombes, a minister of London, has printed a large book for them, wherein he dares us all. Dr Rivet required, by Mr Darie, our assembly's testification, that he had not sent to them any writ against Amiran, nor had stirred them up against his tenets, directly nor indirectly: this was granted to him. But I think since Amiran has been so rash, as without all occasion to expostulate with Dr Rivet, he should the more be wakened to do that duty which he is obliged to do for his love to the truth of God, and care of the churches of France, which Amiran only by his amity and pride has troubled, and will do more if God be not merciful. We all commend Spanheim for his diligence and zeal, though yet his writs be not come to us. We hope Dr Rivet and others there will second him in the defence of the truth against vain innovators.

Our affairs stand thus: It was resolved that Mr Henderson should have gone home for doing his endeavour for knitting together the minds of some whose divisions did much trouble our state. He was the fittest instrument for it on earth; but the weather fell so ill, and he so unhealthful, and the business here is so great, that he behoved to stay; and so my voyage, who was appointed to be his convoy, was stopped. Some six or seven weeks ago, the humour of the faction who guides here, towards us seemed not to be friendly. The crushing of our nation by the pestilence, and Montrose's victories, made us contemptible to them; their unexpected successes made us needless to them; the King and his party were no more considerable; with their hearts they wished to be free of our burden, and rather than to have us lie upon them more, it seems some of them were bent to have a quarrel. Hence their unkind votes for the disgrace of our army, and the restitution of their garrisons. But the wisdom and diligence of the Chancellor brought them, before his going, to a much better temper; yet what shall be the issue, I cannot say. We were content to have the committee for accommodation renewed for our opposition to their designs: in this was the main fountain of their evil talent against us; albeit we do not see what also their



mind is for matters of the state. We have had sundry meetings with them for accommodation both in the grand committee and subcommittees. We would, for peace's cause, dispense with them in very many things; but they are peremptor they will not hear nor speak of any accommodation, but they will by all means have their separate churches. They plead for a toleration to other sects as well as to themselves; and with much ado could we get them to propone what they desired to themselves. At last they gave us a paper, requiring expressly a full toleration of congregations in their way every where, separate from ours. In our answer we flatly denied such a vast liberty, and backed it with reasons, and withal are begun to shew what indulgence we could, for peace sake, grant. Here Mr Marshall our chairman has been their most diligent agent, to draw too many of us to grant them much more than my heart can yield to, and which to my power I oppose. As yet we are not come to express our rash bounty, and some things have intervened from God, that I hope will stay the precipitancy of some whom I expected should have been more opposite to all toleration of separate congregations, than when it comes to a chock I found them. 1. Thomas Goodwin, the last meeting, declared publicly, that he cannot refuse to be members, no censure when members any for Anabaptism, Lutheranism, or any errors which are not fundamental, and maintained against knowledge, according to the principle in the Apologetick. This ingenuous, and most timely, albeit merely accidental profession, has much allayed the savour of some to their toleration. 2. Some good friend has informed the city-ministers, that they in their meeting at Sion college, have resolved unanimously to petition the assembly against all such tolerations. 3. The other day Sey and Wharton moved in the House of Lords to adjourn, that is really to dissolve, the assembly. 4. The Independents are sticking too openly to have the common council of London modelled to their mind. 5. Instead of their long expected model, they presented a libel of invectives as reasons why they would present no model to the assembly. This, underhand, they caused print; and when the assembly had drawn up a sober and true answer, and got an order from the House of Lords to print it, they make their friends in the House of Commons as yet to keep it in. All these are alarms to make us, if we be



not demented, as many the best men here are, to be the more wary of their toleration.

We go on in the assembly now with pretty good speed in our Confession of Faith. We have passed the heads of scripture, God, Trinity, decrees, providence, redemption, covenant, justification, sanctification, free-will, sacraments in general, a part of perseverance, and of the Lord's supper. It seems the King's party would now be glad of a peace; but as yet I see no possibility of it. The Prince of Wales's letter for a permission to send two of his council to his father for that end, got no answer. The King, therefore, without farther circumlocution, sent the other week a trumpet, with a letter, requiring a safe-conduct for commissioners with propositions. While they and we are debating on the answer to this letter, behold a second trumpet, bringing a very pathetick and conjuring letter from the King for peace. The truth is, his secret letters written about the last treaty makes them trust him no more, and resolve to treat no more at all with him; only they will send him propositions, and require his positive answer. We are content that all the former propositions be sent, and that a positive answer be required to them all, without any treaty; but they are altering many of them, and adding more and more hard. These we cannot consent to be sent, till the parliament of Scotland see and assent to them, and declare their mind, whether they will deny or refuse the King all treaty upon every one of these. Also it seems to us, that the faction here intends no peace in haste, and we much doubt the sincerity of them who to this day rule about the King; but our condition is such, that we would with all our heart have a good peace. Always, in prosecution of it, we resolve to cleave to our covenanted union with this people, how ingrate soever the body of all estates here are in our mind. But what the small handful who guides all will do, we yet know not. The city is kind to us, and readily have provided L. 31,000 in money, and L. 6000 in cloaths, for our army. We oft are in great perplexities; but our eyes are towards God, and we resolve, in all temptations, by his help, to do our duty. The condition of Scotland is very hard. Wariston, with the help of Argyle and the ministers, have yet kept the parliament right against a powerful party. Sir John Smith's second fault, far worse than the first, albeit a hardane to defend all he had done, and to draw the most





most of the barons to side with him, was a very dangerous design I hope it is near broken. If Glasgow be made the only example of the state's severity, I fear it will do no good; but if the like course be taken with Edinburgh, and the rest, whose fault was greater, all will be digested. When Montrose the other week came down to Angus, Middleton was appointed to go towards him. He quickly retreated; but Middleton in St Andrew's fell in an instant in a deadly fit of the iliac passion, that troubled all exceedingly, and was taken for a terrible stroke of God; yet our last letters say there was hopes of his recovery. Calendar has accepted his charge of Lieutenant-General of all the forces, which puts us in good hopes of reconciliation of differences, and active managing of the war.

125. *A Publick Letter. London.*

HOWEVER we wait daily on the assembly, yet our progress in the Confession of Faith is but slow. We have many diversions, many days of fasts and thanksgivings, with the days preceding them for preparation. The providing ministers to all vacant churches, even to remote shires, their trial and mission, lies on the assembly, and takes up almost every day too much of our time. The printing of the Bibles fished us much before we could fall on the way to get them printed well for eight groats in octavo, with the marginal quotations, and for six or seven groats at most in 12mo unbound. This we hope will encourage poor people to buy Bibles. Also we are oft diverted with many by-questions from the House; yet we hope, by God's grace, ere long to end the Confession. We stick long sometimes on scabrous questions; but that whereupon the eyes and hearts of all are fixed, is the settling of the government, and with it the toleration of sects. The greatest part of the parliament have been hitherto very to do less in the one, and more in the other, than we could wish. Great struggling have we had, and yet we have much to do. God has helped us to get the body of the ministry of all the land to be cordially for us, and the city is now striking in; which we hope shall carry it, and get up a straighter government, and also exclude toleration of sects more than many men here do desire. We have had many bickerings with the Independents



ents in the grand committee about an indulgence for their separate congregations. We have spent many sheets of paper on both sides. They have given in writs thrice, and we have as oft answered in writ. They are on their fourth writ. To these we must give a fourth rejoinder, and then come to debate verbally. For this point, both they and we contend *tanquam pro aris et focis*. Had it been God's will to have made our army here this last year successful, we should have had few debates for any of our desires; but the calamities of our country, and weakness of our army, make the sects and their friends bold, and very insolent. The King's party here is brought almost to nothing. The taking of Chester keeps out the Irish. The Queen's letters in France are not much feared; they are but by connivance; they cannot be many. All her begged money will not keep long a little army. The King's last letter for peace takes off our greatest objection, the shameful capitulation with the Irish by Glamorgan. This he disclaims, and offers so much to the parliament, that we are in some little hope of peace. If he come but a little farther, it is hoped so much may be granted as we may be contented. We expect every other day from the parliament their seven propositions, that we may send to Scotland, that upon their consent they may go to the King; who, if he will grant them, shall presently thereafter come to London, and treat on all the rest at leisure, and in place. We dare not promise to ourselves that peace yet is near, it hath so many both visible and invisible impediments; especially the crying and evident sins, not only of the people, but of all, or the most, in eminent place, on both sides, in all the three kingdoms. We fear our furnace must yet be hotter before the lump be purified. Appearances one day are good, and another bad. What the Lord will do, he knows. France would be glad that we broke with England, and, on that condition, it seems would give us great assistance; but of all mischiefs that would be the greatest. There is no unkindness yet so great, but, if God please to keep the managing of it in happy hands, it may turn as the jarring of friends to a greater familiarity. The Turk is like to be terrible to Italy. France is like in earnest to yoke with the Pope; who is so perverse and foolish, that he will force France to restore the barbarians to their places, whence they are ejected with the force of arms. The Venetians will join  
with



with France. The Florentine and the other petty princes are foxing already for fear. The Emperor and Spain have so much ado, that they can make the Pope small help. France has many irons in the fire; great designs and successes both in Spain, Flanders, Germany, and Italy. This forces them to lay so great taxes on the people, that it is expected every year they will make great insurrection. A very little thing would set all that state in a fire. The Hollanders are setting out a great fleet to Brazilia against the Portuguese, who have almost undone their West-Indian plantation. It were great wisdom in us at last, without more delay, to send up to our army before Newark a committee, and a number of ministers, with all the forces we could spare: who knows but the Lord may deliver our poor land sooner than we expect?

126. *To Mr William Spang.*

Dear Cousin,

I have not written to you these three or four posts, of purpose, waiting till I find you have received the last. There is so great intercepting of letters, that I am loth that more than one of mine should miscarry. Though I have got three of yours since I wrote any, yet I find not that you have gotten my last. I got Grotius's last piece. The Annotations I allow you for Forbes; you shall have the price of Josephus on it. I cannot think but I am much more in debt than you speak of. How things are here, you may see by the former leaf, which went lately to Glasgow. Matters are near some crisis. I pray God it may be happy. I count the King's party utterly undone. Yesternight, at our thanksgiving for Chester, the news came of the routing of Hopeton, the only army the King had remaining in England. Oxford, Exeter, and Newark, having no hope of relief, cannot long hold out. As yet there is no appearance of the parliament's answer to the King's last four letters. However, twenty days ago they resolved to send the three propositions of Uxbridge, and other four additions; upon the grant whereof, the King should be permitted to come to London. All the stay that was imagined was upon our part, who believed to send these additions to Scotland for their approbation. Yet that might have been gotten in one three weeks; but



as yet they are not come to our hands, neither know we when they shall come. Peace is disadvantageous to sundry here; so it seems it will be their work to shun it, if they be able. Their present pretext is, that their third proposition of Uxbridge, concerning the militia, is yet in controversy among themselves: they have altogether altered. All the interest that Scotland and London had therein is annihilated, and all that power is put in the hand of the Houses solely. London is not willing to quit what both parliaments granted to them before, and therefore did offer petition upon petition to have their own militia, as in the propositions agreed to by both kingdoms was settled. The Lords were willing to let it go so. The Commons, foreseeing that such a power in the hands of London, though under the parliament, yet makes them masters of the parliament, also gives them power over the city of Westminster, and all the suburbs, which they had not before, do demur upon the matter, and are not content to hear the contrary petitions of Westminster and the suburbs, which may draw the business of the propositions to so great a length as they please. In the mean time, the King's extremity makes him very impatient of such delays. The city is much grieved, that what before was without a question granted to them, should now be taken away. This controversy makes them the more willing to look into the ways of the sectaries. Howbeit truly the body of the city is a zealous and understanding people, fully apprehensive of the mischief of the sectaries among them. Their ministry are faithful watchmen; and some late books have done them good; especially Mr Edwards's *Gangrena*; which must either waken the parliament, and all others, to lay to heart the spreading of the evil errors, or I know not what can do it. The city is in so good a temper these two months as we could wish. The other week our commissioners went to their common council, with a letter of thanks from our parliament, for their care to furnish great sums of money for our army whenever they were intreated. To this short, fair, and very innocent letter, my Lord Lauderdale spake some few words, intimating the resolution of the kingdom of Scotland to be constant to their covenant, notwithstanding all the calumnies which malignants have invented against them, and others, for their own base ends, do spread. Great signs of love were expressed by the mayor, aldermen, and common council.





One Allen, a goldsmith, a professed Presbyterian, and at first a great friend to us, but since some fell off us, a busy and diligent agent for the Independent party, becoming a late member of the House of Commons, made presently in that House such a misrepresentation of that action in the common council, as much did commove many of our own friends. An order passes, to require the production of our letter, and reporting of our speeches. For this my Lord is discontent with Allen as a false informer, and this day appears against him in the House of Commons in a high enough strain. Also this same day, the letter of our parliament is read; which, in high and peremptory terms, but yet wise and unchangeable terms, requires the settling of religion at last, according to the advice of the assembly, without all toleration of any schism; also the payment of their debts to our army against the 3d of May, and the making up of our losses sustained by sea, through the want of their ships appointed to attend our coasts, and by land, by our Irish invasion against it, which they were obliged to secure us, for their demand of the garrisons we possess against the 1st of March. They referred their satisfactory answer to their commissioners; which will be thought, so soon as peace can be obtained, and the church settled, and our debts paid or secured, they shall have all gladly; but so long as our army remains, it cannot want places for retreat, and for magazines. What this clear and punctual dealing, both of Scotland and the city in one day, will produce, we cannot yet say. The sectarian party would gladly be at a breach with us; but the affection which France and the city declares towards us, does a little bridle them.

127. *Publick Letter. London, December 2. 1645.*

SINCE my last there is no more news here to count of. Our army is come to Newark. I hope before the spring you will recruit it. General Goring is to France. They speak of the Prince's intention to follow. This will do no good to the King's affairs. It may help much to destroy the hope that was remaining. There were some speaking of Admiral Dorp's hiring some thirty-six war-ships in Holland for the King of France's service; but the last week's accidents will blow up that design.

has re-  
gained



gained Mardyke, the greatest conquest the French made this summer in Flanders; and the Hollanders are so circumvened by the Portuguese, that they are on the point to lose many years great labours, to be cast out of all Brazil. All their thoughts now are turned hither. If God would take order with Montrose, the troubles of this isle might quickly be at an end. We make good progress in our Confession of Faith. It would be very satisfactory when the Lord gives it a conclusion. Our two great high businesses for the time, are the obtaining from the House a power to exclude all scandalous persons from the communion. We have stuck some months on that work. The city, both ministers and magistrates, have come down to put off our

We expect, by God's help, satisfaction in this. The other is our committee of accommodation, which will be a mighty business. The Independents here plead for a toleration both for themselves and other sects. My Dissuasive is come in time to do service here. We hope God will assist us to remonstrate the wickedness of such a toleration. Yet the assembly and city do cordially join with us in opposition to all such motion; and we hope the House shall never approve it. An accommodation in just terms we were well content with; but the Independents always scorned it. Yet ere long I think they will beg it when it will not be granted. But of this more afterward. This will be our great

We had great need here of the help of your prayers. We hope ere long to get Chester. Exeter, Newark, Oxford, are blocked up. The King has no more considerable in England. The propositions of peace, and a declaration, in answer to many of our late papers, we expect this week, which, with an express, we will send down to the parliament.

128. *For Mr Roberts.*

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

You have here inclosed some of our grounds whereupon we build congregational and classical elderships, and in the other paper our grounds for synods. Make what use of them you think expedient. Yesterday the assembly's petition was frowned upon in both Houses; notwithstanding we purpose, God willing, on Thursday to give in



a remonstrance of a more full and high strain, to be communicate to both Houses, and the assembly, on Friday, by the hand of the grand committee. What necessity there is of hastening your petition also, you may consider. I heard yesterday, that Mr Lilburn has a petition for the sectaries, subscribed with the hands of a great many thousands. I do not believe it; yet it would be tried. If your city will countenance Mr Peter's sermon on the day appointed, they do but go on as they have begun. Send back this letter with the bearer; for we had need to beware what papers lie in any of your studies, since the other day it was earnestly pressed in the House, that Mr Jenkins, Mr Cranford's, and, as I think, Mr Fisher's studies, should be presently sealed up, and searched. These be but the beginnings of evils. The other papers I shall call for hereafter. Thus I rest,

Your Brother to serve you,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

129. *For the Right Worshipful my Noble Friend Mr Rous, my humble advice concerning the erection of the congregational elderships and classical presbyteries in the city of London, and within the lines of communication.*

1. THAT with so much speed as may be, the House be moved to appoint a committee of some few of the most orthodox and conscientious of their members, to prepare an ordinance for the foresaid end, or to refer that matter to the committee for the Directory, whereof Mr Tate was chairman.

2. That this committee may be pleased to consider the votes of the assembly anent classical presbyteries and congregational elderships, the chief whereof are contained in this inclosed paper.

3. Because the nomination of persons fittest to govern every congregation will be difficult, the committee may take the secret advice of some orthodox, pious, and wise ministers, acquainted with the condition of the city-congregations, especially the minister of the congregation to be provided for, if he may be trusted, that they may first inform themselves, and then the committee, what names are fittest to be put in the ordinance.

4. It



4. It seems, that the smallest congregations would have at least four elders and deacons, and that the greatest would not have above twenty of both.

5. It is to be provided, that no man be named for an elder or deacon, against whom any of the congregation can justly object any scandalous sin, or disaffection to any part of the reformation in hand. For this end some notice must be given to the congregation of the names, before they be put in the ordinance.

6. The ordinance may appoint the meeting of the eldership to be once a-week; and after, upon occasion, to consult and determine, by most votes of the minister and ruling elders, the ecclesiastick affairs belonging to that congregation, which the ordinance commits to them. The deacons ought to be present to give their advice anent the poor, and the ecclesiastick goods.

7. The ordinance must express so many acts of power as the House will think expedient to be put in the hands of that eldership, with a clear proviso, that it shall be without prejudice of what power the parliament, after farther consultation with the assembly of divines, shall find meet to be added thereto.

8. That besides the power of holding from the Lord's table of any scandalous person within the bounds of the parish, it must be enjoined to the eldership, to take care that all within their bounds may live as it becomes Christians. That for this end they may be appointed to visit the families, and to call before them any who are scandalous either in life or judgement, to instruct, admonish, and rebuke them, and to convent them whom they find disobedient, before the presbytery and synod, that so, where need is, in meekness all may be reclaimed from their enormities. But if the church counsels and censures do not prevail, then recourse must be had to the magistrate, to have the obstinate offender, by his civil power, brought so far as may be, to do duty.

9. The committee would advise with the forenamed brethren, how many classical presbyteries it is meet to be set up within the lines of communication; whether all the ministers in office may be admitted as members; and if any of the congregational elders may be put in the ordinance to attend the presbyters for the first year whom the eldership shall chuse. It seems that thirty is a great enough number for one presbytery; so if there be 120 parishes





rishes within the lines, and from every parish there come at least one minister and one elder to the presbytery, there must be eight presbyteries; which might meet ordinarily once a fortnight; and all in a synod once in a quarter, or at least once in the half-year.

10. The ordinance may express all the acts of power voted by the assembly to belong to classical presbyteries which the House does not much controvert, with a proviso, that it shall be without prejudice of what farther power the Houses after consultation with the assembly of divines shall find meet to be added.

11. It seems needful that the House would call upon the assembly to hasten what remains of government; and require them, out of all their votes, to draw up a directory for government, wherein the uniformity promised in the covenant may be so far advanced as may be for the present.

130. *A Publick Letter. January 20. 1646.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

AFTER much longing for your letters, also some anger and much both grief and fear expressed in sundry of my letters, that for a whole quarter of a year I could learn from none of you any thing of my poor wife, her estate, at last, yesterday the 19th of January I received yours of the 23th of December, and Mr George's, and my wife her own, which has removed fully all my anger, grief, and fear. I thank God heartily for his gracious care of you all, and his goodness to all mine, and gives you thanks for your large kind letter. I thank God my Dissuasive has done no evil here. I hear no word of any answer for it; albeit it be on the subject most here in agitation. The whole first impression is sold: the second I expect to-morrow. When Thomas Young comes home, he has a dozen for friends; and as many of my late sermons, and forty of his own, to be sold. He will give you and Mr George the Annotations, which I pray you accept without any scrupulosity. Mr Alexander Dickson shall have what he wrote for, with the first convenience. My obligation to you all is great for your comfortableness to my poor wife in this her desolate time. I am rejoiced with the kindness the writer to me God has poured on her spirit all this time.



time. It is oft my resolution, for all this goodness of God towards unworthy me, to be willingly, while I live, serviceable to the meanest of the saints, with gifts, means, person, and whatever God has given me, and shall give me: blessed be his name. When I compare all our informations from Scotland, Ireland, France, with our knowledge of things here, I assure you our affairs are in a hopeful, yet very dangerous posture, which I will relate to you, Mr David, and Mr George, and to you only so far as I conceive of them.

The hearts of the divines here who are wise, of the assembly, city, and elsewhere, are set only on the point of government. We are going on in the assembly with the Confession, and could, if need were, shortly end it. We are preparing for the Catechism; but we think all is for little purpose till the government be set up. The assembly has delivered their full sense of all its parts to the parliament half a year ago. The Independent party, albeit their number in the parliament be very small, yet being prime men, active and diligent, and making it their great work to retard all till they be first secured of a toleration of their separate congregations; and the body of the lawyers, who are another strong party in the House, believing all church-government to be a part of the civil and parliamentary power, which nature and scripture has placed in them, and to be derived from them to the ministers only so far as they think expedient; a third party of worldly profane men, who are extremely affrighted to come under the yoke of ecclesiastick discipline; these three kinds making up two parts at least of the parliament, there is no hopes that ever they will settle the government according to our mind, if they were left to themselves.

The assembly has plied them with petition upon petition, the city also, both ministers and magistrates; but all in vain. They know that schisms and heresies daily increase in all the corners of the land for want of discipline; yet the most of them care for none of these things. Had our army been but one 15,000 men in England, our advice would have been followed quickly in all things; but our lamentable posture at home, and our weakness here, make our desires contemptible. Had the King been of any considerable strength, fear would have made them careful to do duty; but their great success, the King's extreme



treme weakness, and our miseries, make them follow their own natural humours, to the grief of sundry gracious men of their own number. In this case our last refuge is to God, and under him to the city. We have gotten it, thanks to God, to this point, that the mayor, aldermen, common council, and most of the considerable men, are grieved for the increase of sects and heresies, and want of government. They have, yesterday, had a publick fast for it, and renewed solemnly their covenant by oath and subscription; and this day have given in a strong petition for settling of church-government, and suppressing of all sects, without any toleration. No doubt, if they be constant, they will obtain all their desires; for all know here that the parliament cannot subsist without London: so whatsoever they desire in earnest, and constantly, it must be granted. Wherefore, albeit they gave them a baffling answer to their former petition a month ago; yet considering the address of this in all its progress, they have thanked them for it, and promised a good answer speedily. The Independents, and all sects, are wakened much upon it, and all will stir; which way, we do not know yet. We had much need of your prayers. They are but very few of the city-ministers about the first and second wheels of the business. I make it my task to give them weekly my best advice and encouragements; and, blessed be God, with such success hitherto, that it is worth my stay here. The King being brought to so low a condition, has been sending these weeks bygone message upon message, for a treaty of peace. It is true, the leading party of the parliament seems much to fear and be averse from all peace for the time, as prejudicial to their private designs; yet our affairs in Scotland, yea the state of this land also, calls for peace in any equitable terms; which has made our commissioners have many long and unpleasant debates upon the answers to the King's messages, while they laboured to eschew that which some endeavoured, the impossibility of any farther treating with the King: yet we did ever at last agree in good terms. The sum of the answer was ever the inexpediency of farther treating, and resolution to send propositions to the King, whereupon they expected his positive answer: but here the desperate case of both hands; the former propositions agreed on by both kingdoms we have required this half year to be sent, and the King's answer



swer to be required thereupon without treaty. Since Naseby field, their thoughts have been higher: they profess they will alter and add to the former propositions. We desire to know what to this day they have not told us. We know they have altered all which concerned our interest in the militia of England and Ireland, and that yet they have not concluded their alterations, neither in haste are like to do it. On the other hand, we see no appearance that the King, for all his desperate condition, is minded to yield what both kingdoms have concluded to have; but is still going on in his old plotting way, to destroy the remainder of his subjects: His messengers are still dealing with Denmark, for men to come over; the Queen is daily agenting with the clergy and court of France, and the Prince of Orange, for men, money, ships, and arms; and we are advertised by many, that she has got from both too great assistance, which shortly will trouble us, if God prevent it not. Yet the great army which D'Anguien is preparing for Italy, for Milan, and the Pope, we hope is not to come over to us; albeit, if the three years negotiation at Munster could conclude a peace, there is no doubt but both Spain and France send in powerful armies upon us: but we think that peace is impossible for the time, albeit the Turks invasion of the Venetians, and the Swedes success in Saxony, makes the Emperor and Spain willing to it upon any tolerable condition.

But that which troubles us most is Ireland. The Pope, this half-year bygone, has had a nuncio there. Both the Spanish and French Kings have had their residents at Kilkenny. We had a rumour of it before, but this night the copies of the writs from the English commissioners in Ireland have been read in the committee of both kingdoms, and to-morrow are to be reported to the Houses, wherein the King gives ample commission to the Earl of Glamorgan to give full liberty to his loyal Catholick subjects of Ireland of their religion, restores them to all the church-lands in Ireland, and recalls all the laws against Popery there. We fear this shall undo the King for ever; that no repentance shall ever obtain a pardon of this act, if it be true, from his parliaments. The fear is, albeit the rebels be expelled from Ulster and Connaught, yet that, according to their capitulation, they send over to Alaster Macdonald 10,000 men, compleatly armed, half-muskets and half pikes, which are designed first to run through the low-





lands of Scotland, and then to raise the malignant north of England; while the King of Denmark's son, Wolde-mar, bring over to the north of Scotland, some 3000 or 4000 of old Dutch soldiers, and from France they come over some 8000 or 10,000 French, with a convoy of Holland ships, to join with the King's army in Cornwall. These are the present designs, as likely as any the King yet ever had; but we trust God, who blasted all the other, will blast all these also. However, if God be not with us extraordinarily, they are too likely to wrack Scotland, considering our weakness already, our divisions, discouragements, and the great power of the enemy in our bowels. This is a powerful people; but very feeble. The sectaries are too like to stir; the malignants and malecontents are many. It is God who keeps all right, and I am very hopeful will do it; for I know there are a great many here and there also of real saints, and the enemy's designs to this hour are nothing but oppression both of church and state. Always I thought myself obliged (for your last very comfortable letters) to let you see the inside of our affairs, I am sorry for the condition of my friends there. I adore the unsearchable judgements of God, and submit to his righteousness; only, in these times of wrath against the whole land, and dangers, I with justice may be mixed with mercy towards any of whom there was any ground of hope. The commissary is my dear friend; his crimes I do not know distinctly, only I wish he were not killed by a prison, as I am informed he is very near to be. I dare not take upon me to give advice in such a distance; but I cannot dissemble my grief. If that man be lost, if any of you three can save, I do not say his place, or his fine, but his life, by procuring him the free air, it would be to me a great favour, which, if I were present, I would earnestly beg from any who could procure it. There is another of my special friends, who I hear is also in danger, Mr William Wilkie: my interest in him is very great since my first acquaintance: though I differed in sundry things, yet I always did much love him, and I ever found him a very fast and steady friend, I knew, in the worst times. At my desire, he helped to keep storms off my brethren. His father, at the beginning of these troubles, was ost cordial, and I am witness of sundry his good services. My cousin, his poor wife, I know has ever been a good  
and



and gracious woman. What his faults are whereupon he is challenged, I do not know. If they be matters of an unpardonable strain, I am not to say any thing; but if otherwise, I would intreat all you three, as earnestly as I can do for any thing of that kind, to do for him what you may with a good conscience. I pity much his mother, who ever loved this cause, and his good-mother, whose grace and virtue for many years I have highly esteemed. Her case is deplorable. She has lost well near all that belongs to her, and, which makes it the more grievous, through their own default. Mr Matthew and Mr David long ago lost; Mr James died a banished man; Mr John deposed, and his son also; Mr John Creighton really banished; her son Alexander little better; her husband cast out of his place; the commissar wracked; Mr Gavin and Mr John Hay, both in hazard. I wish from my heart that she might get some favour in the case of her son-in-law. I am certified, by these whom I think I may trust, that he may be gained so fully to our cause, that I may be caution for him, he shall never publicly or privately oppose (as too oft to my grief he has done) any of your desires. I propone to you, in his behalf, if his faults be not great, and there be appearance he will amend, as I have assurance of it under the hands of three whom I do much trust, that you would consider if this be a time of putting all from their places who deserve it, when the storm is not yet ended; but if you believe all the company wherein I live, the miseries of Scotland, if God work not above all we can see among men, are but beginning. 2. If God would settle Scotland, I think the case of that town is not like in haste to settle. There is there a good but a great change made by violence, otherwise than in any other towns, as yet I hear, whose delinquencies at this time was every way as great. I think it will be needful to have some to be good instruments to lenify the rankled hearts of many there. I know none fitter to do service in that kind than the man I am speaking of. I am in opinion his deposition will increase the evil humour of many considerable persons there, as much as any one thing. 3. If my private affections may have any place with you, I cannot deny but it is my very earnest desire that he may have favour; and if it go ill with him, I profess it will be a great grief unto me. I under-



stand that you and Mr David were his so good friends; both at the first committee in Glasgow, and thereafter in St Andrew's, you kept his name from publick hearing; if you may think it fit to do so still, at least to keep him off the stage a little time till I may be at home, I will take it for a great obligation. I hope, for my cause, you will do in this what you may with a good conscience. I could have dealt with others for help to him at this time; but I have thought meet to recommend him to you three alone, that whatever favour he gets, I may owe it all either to you only, or else to none other. Pardon the extraordinary importunity of my affection in this case. I leave it to you; do as God will direct.

— These two days our hearts are oppressed with divers passions. The King's last letter for peace is so full of desperate passion, that I fear it haste on his ruin. The prevalent party have still harboured jealousies against us, and the other day have produced, in the committee of both kingdoms, letters from unknown hands, full of horrid calumnies, both against our nation and commissioners here. Our vindication will cost us a peck of troubles. Upon the city's petition for government, the House of Commons have gone on to vote a committee in every shire to cognosce on sundry ecclesiastick causes, which will spoil all our church-government. This night our subcommittee has voted so much toleration for the Independents, that if to-morrow the grand committee pass it, as it is too like to do, this church, by law, will be given over to confusion, notwithstanding all we can do to the contrary. But that which vexes us most of all, is a report that is whispered, of the King's purpose to go to our army. What this can mean, we do not yet know; but if he be able to debauch it, it will be a fountain of most dangerous and horrible evils. We will be proclaimed the most wicked traitors that ever were born. All their calumnies will be taken for truths; that unhappy prince will, without any profit to himself, hasten our shameful ruin; for if we should in so base and treacherous a way join with him, we would be able to do him no real help at all: but I hope there is nothing of the report true. However, all these things to you three alone. We are in a mighty perplexity; help us with your prayers. The Lord that knows the great sufferings of our nation  
for



for their honesty, assist us in this time of our great turmoil.

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

131. *To Mr David Dickson. January 31. 1646.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

WITHIN these ten or twelve days I wrote to you at great length how all affairs here went. Though I can add little more, yet an express going from us, I could not but write salutations. The King sends thick messages for a personal treaty. The parliament answers as they may in their way. So at this time they have three of the King's to answer together. What the matter will produce, we know not yet. The loss of Dartmouth, the well near dissipation of the Prince's army in the west, the capitulating of Chester, the extreme wants of Oxford, and all the King's foldiers, puts the King hard to it. The peace which Glamorgan made with the Irish, in the King's name, in so shameful terms, the King disavows it, and Glamorgan is made a prisoner in Dublin for it. The King offers to give over the managing of the war of Ireland to this parliament. I hope this offer may stay the Irish forces from troubling this isle; so much the more, as the parliament is like to send over with Inchiquin and my Lord Lyle (whom they have made governors of Ireland for a year) some considerable forces. It is true the Queen is very busy, and has at last obtained great sums of money, and makes a great deal of shew to lift an army in France, which Admiral Dorp is to convoy hither: but there is small fear here of that enterprize. They write from France, that no men, but only arms, are coming from Denmark to Scotland; however, that which perplexes us most, is the unkindness of most of this people, and too too apparent design of the leading party, to break with us on a small occasion, which it seems they are seeking. The 1st of March is near, wherein they will press their garrisons, and we cannot render them so soon. They require us to keep no more horse in England than 2000, and 1000 dragoons. They say we have near 6000, and not half so many foot. There be many mutual jealousies, which daily do rather increase than diminish. If there be a breach,





is like to be destructive to both, and to the whole Protestant party in Christendom. However, for the time, it is like that both they and we will have our thoughts busied upon the matter of peace with the King. The Houses are upon a shorter way than we expected, to our joy, and some little hope of good. They are willing to send some six or seven propositions to the King, which, if he will pass without treaty, they are content he come to London, as he desires to treat at leisure on the rest, the three treated on at Uxbridge, concerning religion, Ireland, and the militia. The other four is for a power to the Houses to raise money, to keep new-made Lords from sitting in parliament, for punishing the named delinquents. I have forgot the fourth. These will be ready the next week, and sent to Scotland for our concurrence. I think the difficulty will be only that of the militia; for it is much altered from what it was. They have clearly the great band of the nations union; for of the thirty-six commissioners for the militia in either kingdom, there was a third, even twelve Scots to be of the English militia, and twelve English to be of the Scots militia, which is now altered, giving to every kingdom their own. This mistrust will be a grief and a stick, but hardly a total and final stop. I think, if no better may be, we must yield. But whether ever the King will pass these things without a treaty, and modification, and some mutual condescension, we yet much doubt. A little time will shew if peace be possible or desperate. The leading party here seem to be very careless of it; for it indeed makes not for their supposed ends; albeit the King, in his last letters, among many of his great offers, offers a great liberty for all Protestants to serve God in their own way one by one. I was earnest with you in my former for your favours, so far as you were able with a good conscience, for my two dear friends, the commissar and Mr William Wilkie. I intreat still for the same. I am much deceived, if both these men might not do you service, both in your general gracious purposes, and in your particulars, worth all the favour you shall bestow upon them; and if you suffer them to be undone, you will repent it afterward. All church-busines goes very cross. Our hearts are oft overburdened; albeit on Monday the matter of toleration went better with us than we expected, yet we are so deceived, that we will say nothing yet. We proceed but slowly in the Confession of Faith. This must be ended



ed before the Catechism be resumed. The parliament will have a court of civil commissioners erected in every shire, on pretence to make report to the Houses in every new case of scandal, but really to keep down the power of the presbyteries for ever, and hold up the head of sectaries. It is our present work to get that crushed, and I hope we have done some good in this. Our hearts ake for grief and fear for that poor land. The calamities on you, and the greater danger, seems yet to us to be above our head. The Lord arise ere we perish.—The King's design on our army here, if it was real, we hope we have timeously prevented it. Sinclair seems to be scarce a good man. We are on vindication of ourselves from scurvy aspersions, to the shame of the foolish contrivers.

132. *Duke William's letter to Mr Baillie from Linlithgow, February 26. 1646. Duke Hamilton, then Earl of Lanerk.*

Reverend Sir,

THE occasion of writing with this bearer procures you this trouble, else I should have continued silent, and at this time, as formerly, trusted to your charity; but calumnies grow so new upon me, that I must beg you would not deny me the continuance of your favourable opinion, (in despite of my traducers, how eminent soever they be), until either ye hear myself, or God so bless my endeavours, that my actions force them to confess themselves liars; for though none dare or can justify themselves before God, yet I will profess my intentions of affectionate desires, have still been to serve my country in this cause, according to my covenant, without personal end, of advantage or benefit to myself, or prejudice to any who have been justly ambitious of being instruments in this cause. I know good, wise, and impartial men, will not deny me charity; so I will expect it from you no longer than I make it my study both to be an honest man, and

Your obliged friend and servant,

LANERK.



133. *For my Lord Lanerk. An answer to the former.*

My Lord,

I received your Lordship's of the 26th of February from James Hamilton, which, together with the kind and confident expressions therein, I acknowledge as an new obligation. What your Lordship desires is very reasonable and just. You may be assured to obtain it easily of me, and all others with whom I have power; for, believe it, now of a long time, at least three months, so far as I remember, I have not heard one word from any man to your Lordship's prejudice. By the contrary, the other day I heard a larger and more vehement panegyric to your commendation, and bitterer invectives to the disgrace of some others, than I conceive was needful. If I were beside you, I could use my old, pedantick, and magisterial freedom; but papers at so far a distance, in this posture of affairs, are unsafe convoys of free and honest thoughts; only this much I must say, for all the world sees it, that matters are pitifully miscarried in Scotland; that our shame and skath was not so great these 600 years as this last year. We are nothing helped by banding the cause of our miseries from one of you to another. The poor land bleeds and is destroyed; I dare not say with some, large as much by the differences of your friends, as by the hand of the enemy; yet I am bold to say too too much, and more than the best of you shall ever be able to answer, either to God, or the world abroad, or to the posterity. It is a silly plea, that you are all united in the end, since your debates about the midses make the end among your hand to be lost. If I had any power among any of you, I would in all earnestness obtest, That if any love to God and religion, if any tenderness to your poor, broken, disgraced country, if any sense of your own honour and safety be yet remaining, that at last you would all do what divers times has been assayed, promised, and begun, by every one of you, but performed by none; I mean, that all your quarrels might for a time at least be laid aside; that every one of you would cede and submit to one another, and cordially join in the common defence. Albeit I be no prophet, yet I think I foresee, that whoever of you, in these sad times, are readiest to sacrifice all your self-interests



rests to the well of the publick, he shall obtain, in despite of all opposers, in the most easy and honourable way, all his desires. But if you resolve every one of you so to look to your own designs, and go on in your differences, though all should perish; among many other unhappy events, this will be one, that the people who outlive these troubles, will curse all your memories, will gladly consent to that curse which somewhere in the world is much desired, and far advanced, (though my heart did ever abhor it), that when kings and princes are brought down, the power and following of the nobles may be abolished, as that which they have seen and felt, not at all to serve for the defence, but clearly for the dividing and ruining of a poor people. Of this enough. I am very hopeful your Lordship will be as ready as any one to lay aside whatever may concern yourself and your friends, till your poor dying country may once be recovered, that in the life and health thereof you may find yourself and them; otherwise you know well neither you nor they can be safe. I hope against the general assembly to see your Lordship, when I shall be ready to tell you all my mind of affairs, both private and publick. In the mean time, I remain,

Your Lordship's affectionate friend and servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

The Commissar of Glasgow is my dear and special friend. I am sorry he has miscarried in the publick cause. I see you purpose to proceed now no further with him than to a fine. Since this is the mind of the parliament, I think it a great pity his life should be lost by a long and close imprisonment. I marvel he has lived so long, knowing the temper of his body. I must intreat your Lordship to get him so soon to the free air as may be: by so doing, you shall save a life which the state intends should be safe, and preserve a man, who I hope may yet do good service in the place where he lives; and whatever your Lordship can do for him, without prejudice to the publick, I will acknowledge it all as done for myself.

The Prince's arrival in France, the state of affairs here, as with this packet they will be represented by divers hands,





that dangerous and unhappy remonstrance of Seaforth's, call aloud to all who have a drop of kindness to Scotland, to join hearts and hands quickly, without any farther delay ; else our woes are but beginning.

134. *A Postscript to Mr David Dickson's letter. London, March 6. 1646.*

THIS much I had written a fortnight ago, but on the post-night was hindered to send it away. Since, Fairfax has routed Hopeton again; and now it seems, without any impediment, will go to the utmost part of Cornwall. Where the Prince will lurk, it is hard to say. The King's forces thought to have surpris'd Abingdon; but were repulsed. The King has sent us a fifth or sixth letter for a treaty, without any answer. His extremities are said to be great, and his fears no less. Where-ever he goes, he may be besieged and taken. He has lost all his sea-ports but Falmouth. We are masters also of the seas. It will be hard for him to flee any where. If he can have a little patience, it seems a treaty will be obtained. They have at last given to us all the propositions they mind to send, but two, that of London and the delinquents, which they are hastening. Likely our debates with them about the alterations will not be long. Also I hope it shall not be needful to send them to Scotland; for Wariston and Mr Barclay are come, and the Chancellor will be here to-morrow, who, I think, have instructions to conclude upon the additions and alterations. It is much hoped, that the King will pass the propositions, were they worse and harder than they are: so, except some evil spirit interpose, there is some appearance of peace shortly; albeit we dare not yet be confident. The sectarian party is very malicious and powerful. They have carried the House of Commons, and are like also to carry the House of Lords, to spoil much our church-government. They have passed an ordinance, not only for appeal from the general assembly to the parliament, for two ruling elders, for one minister in every church-meeting, for no censure, except in such particular offences as they have enumerated; but also, which vexes us most, and against which we have been labouring this month bygone, a court of civil commissioners in every county, to whom the congregational elderships must bring



bring all cases not enumerated, to be reported by them, with their judgement to the parliament or their committee. This is a trick of the Independents invention, of purpose to enervate and disgrace all our government, in which they have been assisted by the lawyers and the Erastian party. This troubles us all exceedingly. The whole assembly and ministry over the kingdom, the body of the city, are much grieved with it; but how to help it, we cannot well tell. In the mean time, it mars us to set up any thing; the anarchy continues, and the vilest sects do daily increase. Many are afraid of God's judgement. Argyle is to Ireland for 2000 old foot to land in Argyle, to cast out these unhappy men who possess peaceably all his estate. Callendar, after all could be done to him, has refused what all pressed him to: he would be at a greater sovereignty than could be granted, thinking he could not miss it in any terms he pleased. Heart-burnings there continue still. This people, what they will do on the refusal of the garrisons, we do not yet know. If God would send us peace on any tolerable terms, it would be very welcome. When all is tried to the utmost, there is not the least treachery found in Baillie, though great unhappiness, the fault whereof is seen to have been in other men more than in him.

135. *To Scotland. To Mr David Dickson. March 17. 1646.*

SINCE my last, this day fortnight, all the account I can give of our affairs here is this. In the assembly we are fallen on a fashious proposition, that has kept us divers days, and will do so divers more, coming upon the article of the church and the church-notes to oppose the Erastian heresy, which in this land is very strong, especially among the lawyers, unhappy members of this parliament. We find it necessary to say, "That Christ in the New Testament had institute a church-government distinct from  
" the civil, to be exercised by the officers of the church,  
" without commission from the magistrate." None in the assembly has any doubt of this truth but one Colman, a professed Erastian; a man reasonably learned, but stupid and inconsiderate, half a pleasant, and of small estimation. But the lawyers in the parliament, making it their work to spoil our presbytery, not so much upon conscience, as



upon fear that the presbytery spoil their market, and take up the most of the country-pleas without law, did blow up the poor man with much vanity; so he is become their champion, to bring out, in the best way he can, Erastian arguments against the proposition, for the contentment of the parliament. We give him a free and fair hearing; albeit we fear, when we have answered all he can bring, and have confirmed with undeniable proofs our position, the Houses, when it comes to them, shall scrape it out of the Confession; for this point is their idol. The most of them are incredibly zealots for it. The Pope and King were never more earnest for the headship of the church than the plurality of this parliament. However they are like for a time by violence to carry it, yet almost all the ministry are zealous for the prerogative of Christ against them. We are at this instant yoked in a great and dangerous combat for this very thing. We have been often on the brink to set up our government; but Satan to this day hindered us. The ministers and elders are not willing to set up and begin any action, till they may have a law for some power to purpose; all former ordinances have been so intolerably defective, that they could not be accepted. The Erastian and Independent party joining together in the Houses to keep off the government so long as they were able, and when it was extorted, to make it so lame and corrupt as they were able; yet at last yesterday an ordinance came forth to supply the defects of all the former, that so, without further delay, we might go to work. We laboured so much as we were able, before it came out, to have it so free of exceptions as might be: but notwithstanding of all we could do, it is, by the malignity of the forementioned brethren in evil, so filled with grievances, that yet it cannot be put in practice. We, for our part, mind to give in a remonstrance against it; the assembly will do the like; the city-ministers will give the third; but that which, by God's help, may prove best effectual, is, the zeal of the city itself. Before the ordinance came out, they petitioned against some materials of it. This, both the Houses voted to be a breach of their privilege, to offer a petition against any thing that is in debate before them, till once it be concluded and come abroad. This vote the city takes very evil. It is likely to go very high betwixt them. Our prayers and endeavours are for wisdom and courage to the city. I know to whom  
this



this matter has cost much labour. The Independents have the least zeal to the truth of God of any men we know. Blasphemous heresies are now spread here more than ever in any part of the world; yet they are not only silent, but are patrons and pleaders for liberty almost to them all. We and they have spent many sheets of paper upon the toleration of their separate churches. At the last meeting we concluded to stop our paper-debates, and on Thursday next to begin our verbal disputation against the lawfulness of their desired separation. When we have ended, the Houses will begin to consider this matter. The most there, and in the army, will be for too great a liberty; but the assembly, the city, and the body of all the ministry in the kingdom, are passionately opposite to such an evident breach of our covenant. What the Lord will make the issue, a little time will now declare. We had great need of your prayers. We were never more full of weighty business and perplexed solicitude of mind. Also the matter of peace is now in the cauls. The propositions to be sent to the King were given to us some days ago. Yesterday our commissioners returned their sense of them. Their alterations of the former propositions are so many, that I fear we shall not agree in haste; and the pity is, the King will not be able to endure any long time. Hopeton being driven to the utmost nook of Cornwall, has rendered himself, and whole army, without stroke of sword, to Sir Thomas Fairfax. The Prince is fled to Scilly. Falmouth and Exeter, it is thought, will not hold out. The army, with speed, will come to lie down before Oxford. The King in a fortnight will not know whither to go. Never man did him worse service than Montrose, and all those men who have weakened and divided Scotland. I believe the King feels that folly, among other errors, which now he cannot remedy. A few days will clear many things of church and state that for the time are in great darkness.

*A Postscript. March 31. 1646.*

For the time our commissioners can think on no private thing; for every day they attend, five or six hours together, a solemn debate, with a number of the chief of both Houses of parliament, about the propositions of peace to be sent to the King. A little time will shew much. We are in great doubts.





doubts. The leaders of the people seem to be inclined to have no shadow of a king; to have liberty for all religions; to have but a lame Erastian presbytery; to be so injurious to us, as to chase us home with the sword. These things to you three alone. The Prince is landed in France, which will be a sentence of foreign war. This day the House of Commons have appointed a committee to secure the King's person, if he should come to London. Our great hope on earth, the city of London, has played nipshot: they are speaking of dissolving the assembly. If we had not need to pray, you see. That unhappy wicked remonstrance of Seaforth seems to us a clear preface to his joining with Montrose. For all that, I hope we may have better news hereafter, and we hope that God will not leave us to the will of our enemies. This people are swollen so big with successes, that they are impatient to hear reason from any: the end can hardly be good. If my Lady Argyle be with you, remember my hearty affections to her, and to my Lord, and all his: for all that is come, he is my choice of all the noblemen I know. The Lord be with him, and assist him. Remember me to all friends. So I rest,

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE,

136. *To Mr William Spang. April 3. 1646.*

Dear Cousin,

— Matters here go very dangerously. The Prince staid long in Scilly. Six weeks they have been in debate in the House of Commons, of a cold, slight, invitatory letter to him to come to their quarters: but it seems they desire not his presence. Since his mother has got him in her hands, she may readily make him go to mass, and marry the Duke of Orleans's daughter, which by all appearance will banish him from Britain for ever. The last letter of the King being more taking than the former, offering to be advised by the parliament, if his followers may be secured of their estates, has drawn an answer yesternight, which his five or six former were not able to do. The answer is, That they conceive it not for his good, nor the good of his people, to come hither, till first the propositions be granted which they are preparing to send.

In



In the mean time the city-guards are multiplied, and a committee appointed to secure his person, and seize on his followers, if he should come hither. How soon the propositions can be ready, we know not. It is not likely they shall go before Sir Thomas Fairfax have inclosed Oxford, and have the King in his power. In their debates with us, God helps our commissioners to demonstrate the great injustice of their new alterations; but for little purpose; for we have no hopes of any reason from them: yet we must exoner our consciences. The city has much grieved us by their unexpected fainting; they will quickly repent it, but out of time. It pleases God to favour Middleton's beginnings. Seaforth's new divisive motion is exceeding untimeous, unjust, and dangerous. We are vexed that we hear the King's desperate obstinacy, resolving to stick to the militia and bishops though he should die for it. Ashburnham, his grand counsellor, deceived by his Independent ministers, does put, it seems, the poor prince in vain hopes of the Independents concurrence to these his desires, albeit it be evident they seek his ruin. His misregard and malice towards us continues, albeit the Independents go on to whisper our correspondence with him. It is a marvel to me if these men should always prosper, their ways are so impious, unjust, ungrate, and every way hateful. Our eyes are towards God, and we are as cautious and diligent to do all our duty as we are able. God has struck Coleman with death; he fell in an ague, and after four or five days expired. It is not good to stand in Christ's way.

137. To Mr William Spang. April 23. 1646.

Cousin,

You see what I writ for you the two last posts, though they missed the packet through ill luck. Your letter to the Principal I received on Friday last. I sent it home on Monday, with one who was riding journey straight to Glasgow. I could amend nothing in it. I seconded it with one of my own.

Matters here are in a very ambiguous posture. Exeter is capitulating, if not already rendered. The Prince is yet in Scilly. The Houses have voted 10,000 foot and 2000 of horse to be raised in the north. Sir Thomas Fairfax's



fax's 21,000 men are voted to continue other four months. They are speaking of other 10,000 for the west: 40,000 men are a great army when there is not one man in the fields against them. The most think they intend to force us to what they will. The common word is, that they will have the King prisoner. Possibly they may grant to the Prince to be a Duke of Venice. The militia must be absolutely, for all time to come, in the power of the parliament alone. The King and we must consent to what the Houses have done and shall do in religion. But for any particular, neither he nor we must enquire after it. The Houses must have power of levying money without the King. A perpetual parliament is a perpetual army; and means to entertain it, will keep all in quiet. The city now is pretty tame. A wicked and ill-invented calumny was written hither from Oxford, that the mayor of London had correspondence with the King, and had given him protection in the city, with 40,000 men; that he would put fire in the town, and seize on the parliament. A great din was made for this. All see the foolishly-invented calumny; and many think it invented here, to blast the person of the mayor, who is too honest to follow the way of the faction, and to try the pulse of the city how they will suffer the King's imprisonment. They make the word to go, that the King resolves to go to the Scots army, knowing their compassionate hearts, and love to the King, if he would do his duty. They have belaid all the ways, that they may catch him if he should essay to go any where out of Oxford, till Cromwell come and take him up. No appearance of settling religion or the kingdom, yet God may do both quickly. We are in great grief and perplexity; we pity it that a very few persons should be enabled to keep all in a dangerous confusion, when all might be so easily settled. The body of both the parliament and people are so good, religious, and wise, that I cannot think but they will, ere long, take order with those who mind themselves and friends more than either religion or the country, rather than by their evil counsel alter their fundamental laws, and keep the country in awe by a perpetual army, and fall on us, who have deserved so well of them, and for their cause alone suffers our own country to be publicly destroyed. If we knew not there was a God who over-ruled the counsels of all men, and had a care of kingdoms and churches, our grieved hearts would



be much more grieved and faint. The assembly have given in a very honest petition; but it is like shall have no good answer. The city-ministers are to give in one much higher, not so much upon hopes of success, as resolution to deliver their conscience. The citizens say, they will give in another for the same end, but we do not believe them. Their fainting has given our cause one of the greatest wounds yet it has gotten. The next week will, it is thought, declare much. We are longing for Apollonius against Erasmus. It were good to put Spanheim on the Anabaptists; for that is the predominant sect here. I wrote to you to use means to make Vossius print his treatise against them, which is long ago perfect beside him; also that ye would speak with Forbes to go on with his book, and to use diligence against our present sects here. I marvel that your printers there will not be pleased to put out in little form the Greek Septuagint and the Chaldee Paraphrase with the points and version. No books would sell better; and some pieces of the Talmud and Massora pointed, and with the Latin. Give me some account of this. The devil makes such opposition, that we expect here a great work; and truly there is great and fair appearances and beginnings, if it please God to remove some impediments.

138. *For Scotland.* April 24. 1646.

How matters stand here they are wise who well understand. Exeter, Barnstable, and all the rest, are fully reduced; and, among other places, Michaelsmount: so Duke Hamilton is free, and on his way hither. The Prince is yet at Scilly, and not in France. Whether, on the parliament's invitation, he will come hither or not, we do not yet know. We have had divers strange traverses lately, not very comfortable. We are, for the time, between hope and fear for the end. The Houses put out an ordinance for the erecting of presbyteries; but so defective, that while it was in doing, the city drew up a petition against it; which the Houses voted a breach of their privileges. While we were in great hopes that the city would for all that stand to their petition, that we should learn to trust in no flesh, they shamefully succumbed: by a few fair words from the Houses, they were





made as mute as fish. Yet the assembly were bold to petition the Houses against that ordinance; for which also they are voted breakers of their privileges. The assembly yet say, they will be stouter than the city, and mind not, by a few, whether fair or foul, words, to acknowledge any fault where none was. And we also, for our exoneration, do give in a fair remonstrance against that ordinance; whereunto as yet we have got no answer, and scarce expect any good one. But the eyes of all are most on the propositions of peace. Our state-commissioners had many and long debates, both by word and writ, with a committee of the Houses, upon the alterations of the former propositions, whereupon both kingdoms had agreed long ago. It came at last to this, that however by treaty they were obliged not to make peace without us, yet they might send what propositions they pleased for their own kingdom; and that, for religion, they would send no particular at all, but only require the King's consent for a power to the parliament here to establish religion in England and Ireland as they thought fit; also they required him to consent, that for time coming the power of the militia should be in the Houses allenarly, and no part of it in the crown. To neither of these we would consent. The word was made to go far and near, that not only we retarded the settling of peace, but also that in our papers and debates we did press many unreasonable desires; yea, desires expressly contrary to our papers were generally imputed to us. Hence many of our friends thought it necessary to have our papers printed. Among others, Mr Buchanan, a most sincere and zealous gentleman, who has done, both in writ and print, here and over sea, many singular favours and services to this parliament, to his nation, and the whole cause, got a copy of our late papers by his private friendship, and hazarded to print them, with a preface of his own, and an introduction, both very harmless, and consonant to the three following papers, which we had given in to both Houses. In two or three days, 3000 or 4000 of these papers were sold. They gave immediately to the people satisfaction with our proceedings so great as was marvellous. Our small friends were thereby so inflamed, that they carried first the House of Commons, and then the House of Lords, albeit with the great grief and opposition of the better party in both Houses, to vote these papers false and scandalous, and as  
such



such to be burnt by the hand of the hangman ; the publisher, Mr Buchanan, to be an incendiary betwixt the two nations ; and a declaration to be made for undeceiving of the people. In all this they knew none of us ; they grounded their offence on the preface and introduction, not on our papers themselves : so we held our peace. The burning of the papers, and the House of Commons declaration, very sly and cunning, has not yet done much prejudice to us ; only it has made the extraordinary malice and pride of some men shine more clearly. Mr Buchanan is gone to a place safe enough. If he come among you, he is a man worthy of great honour for many good services. The ministers of London have subscribed a petition a great deal higher and larger than the assembly, and higher than our remonstrance. The city also has taken some courage, and are again in the way to remonstrate all their grievances, not only for the matters of the church, but of the state. What it will produce, their former failing when most was expected, will let us promise nothing till afterward. This day we have given in that we have further to say both for matters of church and state, in ten or eleven sheets close written. It seems matters will come to a quick close. All the Royalists in Scotland could not have pleaded so much for the crown and the King's just power, as the Chancellor and Wariston did for many days together. All will be presently printed either here or there. Sir Thomas Fairfax's army will now be near Oxford. They would have made us believe, that the King had resolved to have broke through to our army for protection from prison ; but I suspect the chief spreaders of these reports know well enough how they keep him fettered in Oxford with 4000 or 5000 horse, beside their daily treaties with Ashburnham, and these who have absolute power over him, to keep him still till they deliver him to Sir Thomas Fairfax, and to be disposed upon as Cromwell and his friends think it fittest for their affairs. The Scots army could not be very pleasant, since there was no shelter there for any of the King's followers whom the parliament had or should make unpardonable ; neither for the King himself, unless willingly to take presently the covenant, and follow hereafter the advice of his parliament. Hard pills to be swallowed by a wilful and an unadvised prince ; but at last he must determine. It seems a very few days will bring him up hither ; in



what quality it is hard to say. That which has most annoyed the city at this time, is a malicious and cunningly-devised fable, of a design in the Lord Mayor to protect the King, and to cut off all his enemies in the parliament. With this my Lord Sey, the Solicitor, and others, were sent to acquaint him in an undue time of night. The city take their most honest Mayor's affront in no good part. You see how things stand here. We are on the brink either of a happy peace, or of a more unhappy war than yet we have felt. The madness of these unnatural men, who continue to let out the blood of their country, when it had most need of strength, is inexcusable. Scotland, for ever, must curse the memory, not only of these wicked murderers, but also of all these unhappy self-seeking fools who have or do contribute any thing to our divisions and heart-burnings. Let all honest men embrace other as brethren, or else, I profess, they will repent it. —

Let these be sent west to my Lady Montgomery. Whether my Lord, and his father my good Lord Eglington, be at home, I cannot say; my hearty service to them. It is spoken, and much feared, that Sir Thomas Fairfax's army will be quickly at Newark. They do not question to carry Oxford and Newark without great difficulty. But the Scots must go home, or else be made go with speed. Newcastle must be restored. Fie upon these enemies of Scotland, who mur the sending up of men hither, who by God's blessing might spare us a greater labour, and save much blood, which cannot but be shed if a war begin betwixt the nations. It is neither reason nor religion that stays some mens rage, but a strong army bridling them with fear. Weakness invites and provokes them to ingratitude and mischief.

You have here, with the two last journals, the burnt papers, and the House of Commons declaration. Cromwell came yesternight to town. It is hoped the city remonstrance may be ready this day. Matters here are looking towards some end, or else some new beginning. The great God keep the nations from breaking, which some fear.



139. For Mr Henderfon, being at Newcastle with the King.

SIR,

PERCEIVING by yours to Mr Kennedy, that mine had passed by you to Scotland, I marvel of the mistarriage; for I delivered, with the books, two letters for you, to my Lord Balcarras's man, out of my own hand, with express directions. I pray you search for that letter, directed on the back *To Alaster Mackay*. It is pretty free, and had inclosed one from Dr Burges's. The week after that I delivered to Mr Cheesly one from Col. Jones to you. Mr Robert Blair's letter to us bore, that you were weakly. We wish to be delivered from that fear. You will have it from many hands, and I cannot but advertise you also, that the prevalent party desires nothing so much as the King's refusing of any one of the propositions. It is the sense of all I meet with, that if the King should but delay to grant the propositions, this people will declare against him, and reject him for ever from being King. The Prince his going to France does much embitter them, and further that which is the design of many, to abolish monarchy, and settle themselves in a new kind of popular government. If the King will presently pass all the propositions, I find the most very willing that he should return, and be received with so much power and honour, as may in a little time bring him to all his just and pious desires. He deceives himself exceedingly, if he expect any divisions here in haste. All will agree, if he remain obstinate, to ruin him and his family, and all who adhere to them. While this fear be secured, by appearance this people will be one. Divers, from whom least I expected it, are for the putting away of the whole royal race. The natural respect I have to all great families, and the great love and reverence that I ever carried to the King's person, makes me grieve and fear much at this time. When I look upon the disposition of all men I know, I see nothing but ruin for poor Scotland, except the God of heaven help you there to save that poor prince from destroying of himself and his posterity, against whom he has but invoked too oft the name of God. Though he should swear it, no man will believe it, that he sticks upon Episcopacy for any conscience. It was certainly resolved, and expected





expected by all, that the committee should have consisted of four of the prime Lords and eight of the chief Commons; but the insuperable wilfulness of two of our friends has sent down the six that are named, in satisfaction of their private emulations, without any design to harden and irritate the King. This I know to be true. All men are for the time in suspense, but ready, upon the King's declaration whatever way, to enter into new thoughts and actions. I think you shall shortly have with you all our three great men, Richmond, Hamilton, Argyle. I doubt not but all three will join to persuade, to their uttermost, the King to do his duty. If this succeed, it would be your next care, for the well of Scotland, to make all these three more real friends than as yet I suspect they are. The Lord help you. I rest, Yours,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

It has ever been the King's perpetual fault, to grant his people's desires by bits, and so late, that he ever lost his thanks. Must we yet wait for oracles from France? April 28. 1646. at night.

[The preceding date, I suppose, is a mistake.]

*May 8. 1646.*

The King, on Monday early, went as Ashburnham's man out of Oxford. For almost eight days, great fear and ignorance here whither he had gone. Many did think he was in London, many that he was for Ireland. At last he was found in our army at Newark.

140. *For Mr Spang. May 15. 1646. From London.*

Cousin,

Yours with the last post I received. I am glad of your wife's recovery; let my service be remembered to her. Fear of intercepting makes me to write rarely. The other week, by appearance by a secret instruction, our letters at the city-guards were taken, and broken up, and read in the House of Commons. One of John Cheesly's has caused much noise. For ourselves we are all well; neither do we fear any hard usage for any thing that can fall out. There is no appearance of any such wrong; but there was great appearance of surrounding our army at Newark,



ark, with all the forces they had, at least, with 20,000 well-armed men, to take the King from us to prison, or to cut us off. This made us, after the capitulation for Newark, to retire with speed. We are now out of their danger in haste. The faction's great design is to continue the war; a peace is their quick and evident ruin. The King's being with us makes them mad; but all good people are very joyful of it. Thanks to God, matters go much better. These mens credit is much fallen already. The good party has now the plurality in the House of Lords; many in the House of Commons are falling off our unfriends. It is hoped the city may yet remonstrate against the sects, and that to purpose, shortly; but our great perplexity is for the King's disposition. How far he will be persuaded to yield, we do not yet know. I hope Mr Henderson is with him this night at Newcastle. The Chancellor takes journey thither to-morrow by God's help. They will endeavour to make him take the covenant, be fully directed to follow the advice of his parliament. If he do so, we expect from God presently a happy peace; if his induration be remediless, our army will not shelter him: for, by God's grace, do what he will, we shall be honest, and stick by our covenant, how greatly soever this people suspect, measuring us by their own hearts. Hitherto we have stuck by our principles in many great and long temptations. I wrote to you in my former letters ament sundry things, as the printing of the Targum, the Massora, and of other such books, in a small volume, with the points, and exposition. Also to stir up Vossius to print his treatises, especially of Anabaptism; albeit in his Theses he be too much for dipping. Apollonius to put out his treatise against Erasmus. Of these, and such like, you have given me no answer. Send me over Rivius Cabeljavius, and Macovius about Videliuss's questions. I rest,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

141. *To Mr Henderson. May 16. 1646.*

SIR,

YOUR Sunday's letter came not to me till Wednesday morning. This is the first occasion I could get whereby to send you the papers you desired. This is the best copy we had. With it you have Mr Wither's letter to me.

Many



Many here long to hear the King's reſolution, and more to hear the reſolution of our nation. If God help you to make him quickly do his duty, this people ſeem ready to welcome him; but if he ſhall remain obſtinate, or delay much time, it is very like all his people will join againſt him, and all who will take his part. The delay of a declaration from him and us increaſes jealousies and clamours. The great God help you to ſoften that man's heart, leſt he ruin himſelf, and us with him. Be aſſured, he muſt either yield to reaſon, and altogether change his principles, or elſe he will fall in tragick miſeries, and that without the commiſeration of theſe who hitherto have very much commiſerated his condition. I hope with the next, at leaſt ſhortly, to ſend you my thoughts, as you deſired, on King James's declaration. The Lord God be with you, and give you counſel, and a mouth convincing irrefiſibly.

Your Servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

The city-remonſtrance had a ſtop; but it is like to be for its furtherance. If that man now go to tinkle on biſhops, and delinquents, and ſuch fooliſh toys, it ſeems he is mad. If he have the leaſt grace or wiſdom, he may, by God's mercy, preſently end the miſeries, wherein himſelf, and many more, are likely elſe to ſink. Let me intreat you for one thing, when you have done your uttermoſt, if it be God's pleaſure to deny the ſucceſs, not to vex yourſelf more than is meet: *Si mundus vult vadere*, &c. When we hear of your health and courage, it will reſreſh us. Go matters as they will, if men will not be ſaved, who can help it! And yet you know I was never among thoſe who had greateſt averſion from his perſon, or leaſt ſympathy with his afflictions. If he be reſolved to ſtop our mouths, and bind our hands, that we may neither ſpeak nor do for him, let him go on ſo to make himſelf and us miſerable; there is a better life coming; but woe to theſe villains who have bewitched, poiſoned, and infatuated a good prince, for his own, and ſo many millions ruin. We are in a fair way, and daily advance into it, if his obſtinacy ſpoil not all the play. God's will be done.



142. For Mr Henderfon. May 19. 1646.

SIR,

THE papers you desired I sent with Daniel upon Saturday. I have no more to add unto that than I wrote, but that the Commons voted to-day, that our army shall be gone: and that, when we go, L. 50,000 shall be given, and other L. 50,000 when the garrisons are delivered, is an evidence, among many more, of this people's intentions towards us. Every circumstance is written daily from the north to our unfriends. There is much talk here by all sorts of people of the King's obstinacy; that he is the longer the worse, and refuses all reason. The faction rejoices herein. This disposition contributes exceedingly to their wicked design. All our friends are very sorry for it. Except God help you, that you have occasion to let us know shortly there is a great change, we will not know whether to turn us. Our perplexity for him and ourselves for the present is very great. If he would do his duty, in spite of all knaves, all would in a moment go right; but if God have hardened him, so far as I can perceive, this people will strive to have him in their power, and make an example of him. I abhor to think of it, what they speak of execution. Every hour of his delay gives advantage to these men, who make it their work to steal votes every day, to engage the nations, and to make him irreconcilable. It has been his constant unhappiness to give nothing in time. All things have been given at last; but he has ever lost the thanks, and his gifts have been counted constrained and extorted. If Athburnham be kept, we will not be able to abide this people's clamours. But enough of this. A blind man sees, that if he resolve to play the madman longer, he will be forced to do it within narrower bounds.

So many call upon us to say something to Maxwell's book, that if Mr D. Calderwood would help us with some of his historick knowledge, we should essay to give a postscript to Maxwell after Adamson. If you think meet, I pray you write a line to Mr Dav. with this inclosed, which you will close, and send to him with the first. The Lord be with you, and help you in this hardest passage of this great work. I rest, your servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.





143. To Mr David Calderwood. May 19. 1646.

Right Reverend,

YOUR papers have been exceeding helpful to us for an answer to K James's declaration; which we are now hastening so soon as we may. Many call upon us for some answer to Maxwell Bithop of Ross his scurrilous treatise against our church, printed two or three years ago at Oxford, and now reprinted here, under the name of *Iffachar's burden*; a copy herewith we send you. It is full of odious histories, and matters of fact, whereof all of us are utterly ignorant. If you will be pleased to be again at the pains to send us up some informations for our help against his wicked narrations, we shall readily say something in answer to him. Haste is requisite, so soon as you may. We will expect to hear from you; whom we pray God to assist in all your labours, especially in your History of our Church, which is more necessary than you, or many there, would believe. I rest,

Your Brother to serve you,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

144. For Mr Roberts.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

I marvel that Mr Edwards's book is not yet come abroad. Its stay is hurtful. If you know not, as I cannot think but you must know that whereof this afternoon I was informed, the order of the House of Commons, for commissioners in every shire, though it be not as yet reported to the House of Lords, is far advanced; that the burgesses of Southwark, and some others of the nearest shires, have named their commissioners; that the burgesses of London, before they would name theirs, were pleased to signify to my Lord Mayor their purpose; whereupon, yesternight, a common council was called, which appointed a committee, the same that drew the petition, to consider of that business; and if they found it convenient, without any more ado, to advize with their burgesses upon the persons to be nominated. This day they met; they were like, unanimously, to find that court of commissioners



commissioners contrary to the covenant, and to be disavowed; but Alderman Foulks did change them, and did persuade, that what had past the vote of the House should not be called by them contrary to the covenant: yet the business is put off till Monday. If your burgessees have allowance, yea, were it but a connivance, from the city, to name these commissioners, they will be received in the whole kingdom. It were needful to take this business to serious consideration. It admits not of much delay. Farewell.

145. *Mr Roberts's answer.*

You have made a clear narration of that business specified. But the longer that committee thinks upon it, the worse they like it; and so do other common-council-men. I have good grounds to conceive that it will be quite disclaimed. It may conduce to make advantage. Mr Edwards told me, his book could not come out till the next week, by reason of many unexpected enlargements.

146. *For Mr Roberts.* 1646.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

YESTERDAY Mr Rous and Mr Tate came to confer with us. From them we learned, that the new ordinance, whereby the most of your grievances are remedied, is sent up to the Lords; that it is in Manchester's hand to be reported speedily; that if he will carry it so as the Lords scrape out all that concerns the commissioners for shires, and put in their room the classical presbyteries, to be reporters to the parliament of all the not enumerate cases of scandals, they are confident to carry it in their House, according to the Lords amendment. Consider, therefore, if it were not expedient for you to speak with Mr Ath, that, with all possible speed, he might go to Manchester, and obtain of him to peruse with you and Mr Clarke that ordinance. I am very hopeful that his Lordship will do his uttermost endeavour to make the House of Lords assent, not only to the mentioned amendment, but to others which you may find necessary to move on the light of the ordinance. If Mr Ath think it more expedient for you



to go with him, lest my Lord scruple to give the writs out of his house, you will do well in my mind to go. Allan's business, and the city's zeal, has much altered, in a few days, the temper of the House. Our friends there lift up their head; the sectaries are lower. Strike the iron while it is hot. Let me know the result of Monday's meeting. It is now the great business of some to send recruits to Cromwell's army. The end is visible; the pretence to oppose the landing of 8000 French. If the informations of all your own agents in France, and of our friends there, be true, this is but a shadow to cover somewhat else. If God help you to keep on the city's zeal, more is like to be done in a week than hitherto in a year. Be diligent in this happy nick of time.

147. *For Mr William Spang. June 26. 1646.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I am loth to write this till I be sure you have received the former. We have, every week almost, a great deal add for intercepted or feigned letters. What will become of us, God knows! but certainly the Scots do yet continue in the midst of all, and those very heavy temptations, to be very honest to the English and the common cause. We thought the King his coming to us, would have quickly settled all; but yet the danger is great: this people are very jealous, and the sectarian party, intending only for private ends to continue the war, entertain their humour. Let the Scots do and say what they can, yet certainly they cannot be honest: they have a design, with the King and foreign nations, to betray and ruin England; therefore let us be rid of them with diligence: if they will not immediately be gone, let us drive them home with our armies. To these foolish and most mad counsels, the King's unhappiness does daily contribute. Some twenty days before he came out of Oxford, he wrote to Ormond, of his design to go to the Scots army, upon confidence, to work them to his designs, since the parliament were resolute to ruin him. This letter is sent to Monro by Ormond, and by Monro delivered to the English commissioners, who send it to the House of Commons, where it is read publicly, and a vote passed on it, that the King's intention in coming towards us, was to divide the nations.

This



This was but a preface to a harder vote against him ; and had we not prevented it by a paper, contrary to that letter, declaring, with great confidence, the sincerity of our nation, and freedom from any capitulation with the King, it is like, they who had stolen through a vote, of the usefulness of our army in England, had proceeded farther to make us odious still, and to discredit our most solemn protestations of our innocency. Their committee, with their army at Newark, make a most base report of our army's miscarriages. The party intended to have had that a part of a declaration against us ; for the great work of some was, by all means, to have us once engaged ; for this end they hemmed us in a corner of the north, and made Pointz to lie in our nose, giving us not a sixpence of money, being assured that being straitened in quarters, and having no money, that the country, exhausted before, would be so grieved with us, that we and they would fall foul ; and Pointz's army being at hand, there should be a yoking, and so a necessity of war. Yet we abhor war so far, that by the great mercy of God, our army hitherto has given no provocation to those that watched for it, but has drawn from it many testimonies for our credit. While we have almost wrestled through this great danger, and given satisfaction for Ashburnam and Hudson's escape, as indeed we were free of fault therein, behold the villain Hudson, as it is like by the King's direction, puts himself in the parliament's hands, and makes grievous complaints of us, as Ashburnam also did by his letters from over-sea, as if we had drawn the King to our army by fair promises ; and when we had gotten him, we did use him roughly as a prisoner, and in nothing gave him contentment. The second was a refutation of the first. The truth is, we never had any dealing with him for coming to our army, and would never enter in terms to make him any promise, farther than that we know our duty, and would keep our covenant ; and had it not been that he foresaw he was ready to be taken at Oxford, and either to have been execute, which is the mind of too many here, or to have been clapped up, in perpetual prison, he had never come near us. However, the carriage of our army, and all our nobles, even they who were counted the greatest malignants, has been wise, moderate, and honest, towards the King and this parliament hitherto ; yet that party who were the diligent watchmen of the commonwealth, were doing their uttermost to make it appear that we were but false men ; and,

for





for that end, a number of poor inconsiderable delations were brought to the bar of the Commons, to make it evident that we minded no good; a new letter of the King's to the Prince, and sundry letters as from France, confirming them in these jealousies. We could never have abidden the half of their mad follies, had we not been restrained with the sight of the mischiefs which we saw were at hand upon the neck of both, if we should take fire at their daily provocations. The lamentable slaughter of Monro's army in Ireland, and Antrim coming over with 1500 men to Scotland, with our severe carriage toward the King, putting him out of all hopes of any compliance with the kingdom, also Argyle's authority and wise carriage here, has much stopt the mouths of our enemies here: but that which has done us most good, and brought greatest shame on them who most maligned us, is our passing the propositions without all delay, whereon they have stuck these ten months, and wherein they expected surely we would have made much greater difficulty. Also the scurvy base propositions which Cromwell has given to the malignants of Oxford, have offended many more than his former capitulation at Exeter; all seeing the evident design of these conscientious men to the greatest conditions to the worst men, that they may be expedited for their northern warfare. Nothing so much affrays these men as a peace; albeit truly all men who are not misled, see a very pregnant appearance of ruin to England, if they should war with us at this time. Our great fear is now from the King; his wilfulness is very great: if he should be so obstinate as to refuse the propositions, we will be put to a fearful perplexity. We resolve not to divide from England on any terms. If the King will not return upon just terms, what to do with him we cannot tell; but we hope our God will soften his heart to preserve himself and many others from great miseries. The Queen's counsels seem yet to sway all, and these to be still desperate. The French designs are, in my mind, contrary to the welfare of both kingdoms, and the Protestant cause: that monarchy will quickly be more terrible to us than Spain was before. Yet so mad are the sectaries, that they would be glad to drive us to the French. They are so blinded, that they think it a matter very easy to subdue our kingdom, though united and assisted by all the power which Ireland, France, Holland, Denmark, and



and all our friends in England, could make us. We pity such fury; and, by God's help, shall never tempt them, as they needlessly do us from time to time.

For the matters of our church, with much ado we got the provincial commissioners laid aside, and so resolve to act. The ministers of the assembly did meet with those of London, and agreed upon a declaration for acting; so that the next week they purpose to set up. I pray God be with them. It was designed to send nothing for religion but one line, that the King should ratify what the parliament had or should vote. With much ado we reasoned them out of that strange motion; so we expect all their ordinances shall go. That for the directory, for ordination, for abolishing Episcopacy, for the presbytery, &c. What day, and by whose hand, all will be sent, yet we know not; but our consent so quickly to send the propositions, though we assent not to all the matter, is much cried up. We are afraid Montrose and Antrim lay not down arms; and if the King escape to them, it will be a woful case; so much the more, as, in the leaders of this people, we find no kindness nor wisdom. The parliament's questions have retarded us much. Without them we had ended the Confession of Faith. A committee has prepared answers for them all, much for our advantage, and contrary to the expectation of those who moved them. All the skill will be to pass them without debate: it will be endeavoured; but we fear great opposition from the Independents, who are as earnest as ever to keep off all determinations, and make the confusions both of church and state infinite. There are depositions now in the presbytery of Glasgow, Mr John Forsyth, Mr Gavin Forsyth, Mr Robert Tran; but their proceeding with the Principal, Mr Wilkie, and Mr Edward, what it may produce, I know not. I no ways love it. If these three be deposed, peace in Glasgow in our days seems to me desperate, whereof I am exceeding sorry. God, in great mercy, has kept me from among them all this while. I am again on the press. I got never your opinion of the former pamphlet. At this time I yoke with Maxwell and Adamson, who with base pamphlets have done our church here much harm. The sectaries, of purpose, reprinted their books, and carefully spread them; but I shall make them repent it. Mr Henderson had undertaken the service; but being sent to Newcastle, he laid it on me.

This



This much may serve you for one three weeks. I am glad of your wife her recovery; my service to her and kind Apollonius. We long for his book. Mr Gillespie has a large and learned treatise on his subject near printed. I am glad every other day to see Duke Hamilton and the Marquis of Argyle at our table. Long may these two gree well. We are in great fears of the King's obstinacy; if this mar us not, we are in a fair way to do well. You wrote for some things, but I forgot them, I pray you write again. Will you not put Forbes to write against the Anabaptists, Spanheim, Vossius, and Voetius also; these and the Antinomians plague our common people. I rest, Your Cousin,

JAMESON.

148. For Glasgow. July 14. 1646.

MATTERS here look better upon it, blessed be God, than sometimes they have. On Sunday, in all congregations of the city, the elders are to be chosen. So the next week, church-sessions in every parish, and twelve presbyteries within the city, and a provincial synod are to be set up, and quickly, without any impediment that we apprehend. The like is to be done over all the land. They go to this work unanimously and cheerfully at last, I mean all but the sectaries. That it may the better succeed, there is on Thursday next a general fast over the city, which both the assembly and parliament do countenance. The work of the assembly, these bygone weeks, has been to answer some very captious questions of the parliament, about the clear scriptural warrant for all the punctilio's of the government. It was thought it would be impossible to us to answer, and that in our answers there should be no unanimity; yet, by God's grace, we shall deceive them who were waiting for our halting. The committee has prepared very solid and satisfactory answers already, almost to all the questions, wherein there is like to be an unanimity absolute in all things material, even with the Independents. But because of the assembly's way, and the Independents miserable unamendable design to keep all things from any conclusion, it is like we shall not be able to perfect our answers for some time; therefore I have put some of my good friends, leading men in  
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the House of Commons, to move the assembly to lay aside our questions for a time, and labour about that which is most necessary, and all are crying for the perfecting of, the Confession of Faith and Catechism. If this motion take, I hope we shall end shortly our Confession, for there are but a few articles now to go through. It will be a very gracious and satisfactory Confession when you see it. We made, long ago, a pretty progress in the Catechism; but falling on rubs and long debates, it was laid aside till the Confession was ended, with resolution to have no matter in it but what was expressed in the Confession, which should not be debated over again in the Catechism. If these two pieces, and the Catechism, were out of our hands, our long work were at an end. All the corrections of Mr Rous's psalms, and advices which come up from thence, were very friendly received, and almost all of them followed. It is like the assembly and parliament here will, ere long, authorise the use of that oft corrected Psalter. Whether you think meet to make use of it or not, it shall be absolutely in your own power. But that whereupon the eyes of all are fixed at this time, is the propositions of peace. The sectarian party here are still very averse from peace, if they could choose. They made the propositions so ill as they were able, hoping we should never have put them; yet, for many great causes, we have swallowed down the hardest pills they presented, to their great disappointment. So we have got at last, with much ado, their commissioners this day to Newcastle. Argyle, to-morrow, will follow them. All that we heard before this day was, that the King would never take these propositions; so a worse confusion than yet we have seen did present itself to our eyes, to our great grief and trouble, but to the joy and confidence of these here, whose interest it is to have war and confusion to continue: but, thanks to God, this day we are put in a pretty good hope that the King will follow advice. God's people had never more need to seek earnestly to him; for surely, if the King follow his nature and constant practice, and but delay to pass all these propositions, how hard to him forever, we cannot tell in all the world what to do next; and their fears and perplexities are greatest who understand best the present posture of affairs in all the three kingdoms, and our neighbour nations. But if the Lord dispose the heart of the King to do his duty, there is an





appearance of a very gracious peace presently. 'The Lord pour the spirit of prayer on all his saints, in this so needful a time. The city of London, and the whole land, continue and increase in their desires of peace, and love of our nation, and hating of the sects, who, for their own wicked ends, would, with all their hearts, behold the destruction of both nations. The city has avowed to the parliament, their desires to have the King back, and hardly has been hindered from sending some of their prime men to him, with a petition to pass the propositions. Some of us, I think, must, and I am sure one of us do long much to be at home. Mr Rutherford, Mr Gillespie, and your friend also, are all on the press again, for the defence of our church, and truth of God, against divers enemies.

The Turk is to oppress the Venetians. The Emperor can make them no help. The French have taken in Orbitello in Tuscany, scarce a day's journey from Rome. It is said, the Pope, Florence, and Parma, are leaguings with Spain, to cast out the French there: however, neither Spain, Italy, nor France, can give any help against the Turk. Pole is very willing, and has levied a great army to divert the Turk; but the states of his kingdom are like to hinder his undertaking. The Swedes have joined their armies and their friends together near Marburg. The imperialists and Bavarians, much of this month, have lien near them. Their forces are near equal: it is thought they will fight. Great appearance that the Heilanders will make peace with Spain; for almost all they could desire is offered them; yet they are to the fields for this summer very strong, and the French on the other side as strong. The Spaniard is much stronger than any one; but will not be able to keep the field against both. We are grieved and imbittered by the Prince's journey to Paris. It can produce no good; yet God can bring light out of darkness. Let this be sent west to James Mitchell.

149. *To Mr William Spang. July 17. 1646.*

THIS I wrote to Glasgow on Tuesday last, I can add no more news to count on. The French ambassador got audience this day in both Houses. So far as yet we can learn, his errand is good, to join the King and his parliaments



ments in our terms. He applies himself most to us. Our hopes yet increase that the King will do his duty. Our divisions among ourselves are like to be too great; but if God give the countries peace, let men that seek themselves most, divide the court among them. Since neither grace nor wisdom will learn them concord, they deserve no pity. Let them beat one another as they will, there is never a tint stroke among courtiers. —

150. For Mr Henderson. Saturday, July 18. 1646.

SIR,

I hope you got my last with Daniel Carmichael. You have here one from Dr Burgess. It now comes near the choak. I am trembling for your answer to our propositions. I am grieved that your resolutions should depend so absolutely upon France, and that upon a party there, who have been so evidently foolish, wicked, and pernicious. Your debates upon Episcopacy I never took to be conscientious, but merely politick, and a pretence to gain time. I hear France has, or will loose that scruple of conscience very easily. Will such base hypocrisy be blessed? The French ambassador is all composed of honesty, and has no other errand but peace; yet I do no ways like this his almost abrupt running to you at so unreasonable a time. The passing of the proposition for Episcopacy will not do your turn now. You have that good property to do all out of time. Though you pass the militia and Ireland, that will not do it neither. We would beg of you to stand upon any one thing. Let the French persuade you to do it, and we shall bless them; for it is our only fear, that you pass all, and so quickly return, and be our masters. But stick upon any thing we have sent, we shall quickly establish ourselves in a republick, and forswear kings for ever; for you have been so exceedingly bloody and false, that God and man calls for your extirpation; especially now, when the world sees your remediless obstinacy, and full resolution to go on in your false and hypocritical way. Better once for all be rid of you, and all who will take your part. This, Sir, I find to be the heart of many, whose sense I expected should have been much otherwise. I marvel to see the simplicity of some, who think your condescension in some main things will do your



turn. I profess, these men whom you will find flatter you in such counsels, I suspect their designs are to ruin the poor prince for their own ends. Sir, if you have any power, let that man come off once very frankly in all things, and he shall have all he ought to desire. Will he do it by halves and quarters, he is running to utter destruction; who can help it! Yet I must be one of the mourners for it. Sir, give over your disputations; they are but vain. It is now near the fool's saying, They will make prince elector of thee. O the madness of blinded men; that no experience will teach them to save themselves and thousands from evident mischief. The Lord help and assist you to do and say what becomes, be the event what it may. All men I see seek themselves above all things, either publick or private.

Your Servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

151. For Mr Henderson. London, August 4. 1646.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

YOUR sickness has much grieved my heart. It is a part of my prayers to God, to restore you to health, and continue your service at this so necessary a time. We never had so much need of you as now. I have sent you at last my pamphlet. It has stuck on the press these seven weeks, through the sottishness of the printers. Our brethren are all content with it. I was altogether averse from intermeddling with it, till you at your departure spoke to me of it. But what do I speak of such toys? The King's madness has confounded us all. We are in a woful evil taking; we know not what to do, nor what to say. We know well the weight that lies on your heart. I fear this be the fountain of your disease; yet I am sure, if you would take courage, and digest what cannot be got amended, and if, after the shaking off melancholious thoughts, the Lord might be pleased to strengthen you at this time, you would much more promote the honour of God, the welfare of Scotland and England, the comfort of many thousands, than you can do by weakening of your body and mind with such thoughts as are unprofitable. George has been shipping your things this day with Robert Hamilton of the Pans, who goes with the first fair wind.



wind. The great God fill your heart with strength and comfort from his own face. Thus I rest,

Your most loving brother and servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

152. For Mr Robert Blair. London, August 4. 1646.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I caused buckle up the last winter sundry of my pamphlets for you. They fell by a mistake in the hands of Humble his son's pedagogue. I hope he gave them to you, as Mr Samuel directed him. I have neither a mind, nor great fitness, to appear in print; yet it has been my fortune much oftener than I thought to come out in this kind. At this time all my colleagues are my witnesses, how loth I was to meddle with more printing; yet all thought it necessary I should make this answer. In my Epistle I thought it my duty to let the world know my obligations to you. I hope you will take this testimony of the thankfulness of my heart in good part, till I have occasion to declare the same by deed. I have burdened James Hamilton with twelve copies; one is for himself, one for you. You will be pleased to deliver a third to dear Mr Henderson, and a fourth to my cousin, Lieut.-Gen. Baillie, a fifth to the Governor, Sir James Lumisdale, a sixth to my Lord Crawford, a seventh to my Lord Lanerk. The other five I intreat you to knit together, and send them to Mr Andrew Ker, with my letter to him, who will distribute them as I direct him. The King's answer has broken our hearts. We see nothing but a sea of new more horrible confusions. We are afraid of the hardness of God's decree against that mannan, and against all his kingdoms. We look above to God; for all below is full of darkness. The Lord assist you in your uncomfortable service. So I rest,

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

153. For Mr William Spang. August 7. 1646.

Cousin,

I am now two to the fore with you, albeit I wrote none the last post; for I was at Oxford, the best built and  
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booked university in the world, but the worst provided of learned and orthodox men I know of any. We were lately in some good hopes of an happy end of our long troubles, but now we are very near desperate of that. After all possible endeavours by all unanimously, Scots, English, French, so far as yet we know, the King refuses the propositions. We expect on Monday the Chancellor and Argyle, with the English commissioners. After their report to the Houses, we fear sad votes. It will be our endeavour to keep them from sudden conclusions. They take very long time to the smallest affairs: I fear they be too quick in deposing the King, and setting a day to the Prince. We are at a great nonplus, in very great grief and perplexity. We know not what either to say or do. There is before us a thick cloud of confusion. Many of the King's greatest friends think his obstinacy judicial, as if, in God's justice, he were destroying himself. I fear he will down with him all his posterity, and monarchy. Also in this isle we have very small hopes of doing any more with him, and many thousands more of his best subjects. This is the great joy of the prevalent party, the thing they panted for with all earnestness. Our griefs and fears are great, and for the time we are in a great stupidity and astonishment. It will be our endeavour to keep the nations together, albeit we scarce see the possibility of it. Mr Henderson is dying most of heartbreak at Newcastle. Our grandees are like to be state-schismatics, and the worst side to be the strongest. A truly pious and really publick man is a rare piece upon earth. Mr Gillespie will send you over his learned book. My pamphlet, with these pieces I answer, I give now to Mr Tirrence. I send three more, with my service, to Mr Cunningham, Mr Stuart, and Mr Apollonius. I have seen the Paris Bible; it is 50 lb. price. I think your printers at Amsterdam or Leyden might give us the Arabick and Syriack Bible, also the Chaldea paraphrase, for a small price, to their own great advantage. A marvel that no man there will persuade these printers to do so good a turn for their own benefit. A pity but Eyrenius's manuscript Arabick dictionary were perfected. Grief and anxiety makes me cut off. The Lord be with you. My service to your wife. So I rest,

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.



154. For Mr Henderfon. August 13. 1646.

SIR,

THOUGH I have little purpose, yet I could not let George go without two or three lines. Your weakness is much regretted by many here. To me it is one of the sad presages of the evils coming. If it be the Lord's will, it is my hearty prayer oft times you might be lent to us yet for some time. Upon the great appearance of our full compliance with this people, the most seem to applaud our carriage towards the King; but how long, I doubt. It seems the most here are inclined to declare against the King, and that without much regret. I know no remeid, but a quick message from him to grant all. I wish our meeting at Edinburgh would yet send to him for that effect; but I fear it be too late. In all things he continues to be extremely unhappy. Montreuil and his letters were taken by sea. Believer's brother posting by land, after a fore fall, sent his letters by an express, with the speaker's pass; yet the man was stopped, and his letters taken from him. The parliament's agents write still from Paris, that the Duke of Lorraine shall winter in England; that Bavaria is upon the league, upon an express condition, that the King shall meddle no more in the Palatine cause; that 100,000 crowns are sent into Scotland from France, by the way of Holland. The belief of these things, how false soever, is equivalent to their truth. Ormond's pacification with the Irish is very unreasonable; the placing of Hobbes (a professed Atheist as they speak) about the Prince as his teacher, is ill taken. In the assembly we were like to have stuck many months on the questions; and the Independents were in a way to get all their differences debated over again. I dealt so with Mr Rous and Mr Tate, that they brought us an order from the House to lay aside the questions till the Confession and Catechism were ended. Many took it for a trick of the Independents and Eraftians for our hurt; but I knew it was nothing less. We are now near an end of our Confession. We stick on the article of synods, upon the proposition of their coercive power, or their power to excommunicate. If this were over, we apprehend no more long debates on the Confession. The committee for the Catechism has well near ended



ended their work. It must be perfected before any part of it be reported. The election of elders in the most of the parishes of London is passed with a cordial unanimity, and these who are chosen approved by the triers. We expect classical meetings speedily. There is this day to be presented to the House an honest and high petition, like to the city-remonstrance, from Lancashire, subscribed with 12,500 hands and above. The French are like this year to have very bad success, both in Italy, Spain, and West Flanders, and to break at home. If you see not to it, I fear great divisions among our own statesmen; but our great God can help all these things. His spirit strengthen, comfort, and encourage you to the end. So I rest in my hearty love and reverence toward you.

155. *For Mr Robert Blair. August 18. 1646.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I am glad you take my dedication in good part. None who know my obligations to you, can offend that I should acknowledge them. When you have read the book, let me have your judgement of the matter. You must not be weary of your charge as not to go about it cheerfully, and to do in it all the good you can for your short time. It is well that Mr Andrew Ramsay's treatise has done what Mr Henderson and all the rest of you could not do. But it is a pity that base hypocrisy, when it is pellucid, should still be entertained. No oaths did ever persuade me, that Episcopacy was ever adhered to on any conscience. I esteemed all your debates on that subject to be but ridiculous pretences to gain time, till the last resolution came from your masters beyond sea; and now, when it is come, are you so wise as to dream, that the abolition of Episcopacy will give any satisfaction? Will that please Scotland so well, as to make them join with the malignants against England? Will your new officers of state, new Lords and Knights, draw that nation at your heels? Have you been so long in the mortar, and beaten so much with the pestle, and that folly is not yet driven from you? All your friends here lament at your palpable execration; but all abhor these ambitious madmen, who will destroy a more than half-destroyed prince, by betraying him with their flatteries. With much diligence, and art, and great perplexities,



perplexities, we strive every day to keep the House of Commons from falling on the King's answer. We know not what hour they will close their doors, and declare the King fallen from his throne; which if they should once do, we put no doubt but all England would concur; and if any should mutter against it, they would be quickly suppressed. Do not expect, that ever any more messages will come to you from this. If within a very few days you send not hither a simple and absolute grant of all the propositions, without any *if*, or *and*, you will quickly obtain your desire. A martyrdom, a perpetual close prison at least, will be your portion; and that without the pity of many. If yet you would do what within a few weeks you will on your knees beg to be permitted to do, but in vain, you might save all. Why is no course taken to declare them infamous for ever that do ensnare the King, by taking any honour, place, or promise, from him in his present condition? Shall such unhappy bribers be enabled by any more trust in their country to do mischief? Be obstinate but a little more, and all here, without any more vexing of themselves, will let you take your will, and play the fool while you live. All that favour the King in England are not worth a button, if he make any more scruple in any of our demands. These false, traiterous whisperers, that would make the blinded prince believe, that the sectaries are not his extremely malicious enemies, burning for the day to cast him and all his posterity out of England, they are impudent liars. I sometimes weep in secret for the inexpressible evils, which, most needlessly, that man is hastening on himself, and his whole house, and many thousands of his poor subjects; but if so it must be, the Lord's will be done. The Lord make you faithful and wise at so strange a nick of time. I rest, &c.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

156. For Mr David Dickson. August 18. 1646.

IN the assembly we are returned to the Confession of Faith, and are drawing towards the end of it. The Catechism is almost all passed through the committee. If these were done, likely the assembly may adjourn, that the members thereof may go down to their several shires, to assist the erecting of sessions, presbyteries, and





synods. They have gone on in London, and have chosen very many gracious and able elders. The triers publicly have taken account of them, both of their life and knowledge, with their own consent. None have refused to be tried: they are all chosen for life: they will be a great help and strength to the government. The King's unhappy refusal of the propositions has put us here in a great deal of confusion and perplexity. The sectaries do exceedingly rejoice; the rest are in great sadness. The great danger was, that the House of Commons presently without any more, should declare against the King. Our great care was to prevent that great mischief; for if they once had passed a vote to demand the King, to remove our army, to send their army northward, there was no remeid. Therefore we made ready a paper before their commissioners returned, and presented it at the very back of their commissioners report, of our willingness to disband our army, and give up the garrisons upon reasonable satisfaction; and our desire to take, by common advice, a course for settling of the kingdoms. The noise of our very good carriage at Newcastle, the great equity of our paper, our private dealing with our friends in the Houses, made our motions taken: so we have got them to consider first the matter of our army before they came to the King's answer. We hope to keep them on this for some days, till the King have a little more time to be better advised. And such diligence has been used, that we hear he is coming near us. Some farther instructions are come to him from France, and the harmonious resolution of both nations, to take a course without him if he will not be advised, is more apparent to him than before. The great hazard is, that he consent not fully to all, and quickly, so a qualified consent, or a full consent a little delayed, will undo him. The running of unhappy men upon him, for honours and places, is a great snare to him. Such unimcous honours are very hurtful both to the giver and taker. It is all our skill to gain a little time. Their first offer to us was of £. 100,000 Sterling for the disbanding of our army. We, this day, gave them in a paper wherein we were peremptor for more than double that sum for the present, besides the huge sums which we crave to be paid afterward. They have appointed a committee to confer with us; we are in some hopes of agreement. The money must be borrowed in the city, and  
here



here will be the question. They are our loving friends; but before they will part with more money, they will press hard the disbanding of their own army as ours. If they obtain this, the sectaries will be broken; if they obtain it not, the pride of the sectaries will be intolerable. The advices the King gets from France, are the more moderate, because of their present misfortunes. Their army in Italy is with great loss and shame sent home. In Catalonia they have not much prospered this year. In West Flanders, the Spaniards from Mardyke, near Dunkirk, have killed a great many noblemen and commanders to them. The Hollanders do no good this summer; for they are bent, for fear of the French greatness, to take peace with Spain. The Prince of Conde is like to fall foul with the Cardinal, so the French have the less will to meddle with England. The Turk is incroaching sore upon the Venetians in Dalmatia. The Swedish and Imperial armies are yet looking one upon another, near Frankfort.

157. *For Glasgow. To Mr Robert Ramsay. London, August*  
18. 1646.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

Yours, with Mr Legge, yesterday I received. I thank you for it. I have written to Mr David this once more for that matter I importuned you for. You and Mr George will be pleased to consider what I say there. For our affairs here, you will read them in the publick letter, which you will send west to James Mitchell. I purpose to send his informations to Paris to Dr Davison; so I wish with the first you let me know from himself his present condition. Whatever is in my power I would be glad to do it for that gracious man. We are here, by the King's madness, in a terrible plunge. The powerful faction desires nothing so much as any colour to cast the King and all his race away, to have a quarrel with us: this they will get if the King stick but for a few days many of the propositions. Many here will regret it; but none will oppose. With great difficulty we drive over a little time, and to our utmost labours with the King. He never did any good turn in due time; our people, I fear, be a snare to him. Divisions are like to increase, and the best to be borne down most. Worse evils hang above



the head of poor Scotland than yet we have suffered, except the Lord prevent, and such as I cannot see their end. Blasphemous heresies rage here every where, without any controul, to this day. Warnings are clear and zealous; but a few that make it their work to patronise and advance a horrible liberty, mars all. This nation also is in a temper to fall in a worse war than the former. God help us, we had need to pray. Never people nearer to a bottomless pit of horrible evils. I am exceeding weary of this life; and so soon as I can, will beg leave to be gone. Mr Henderson's absence, and the variable health both of Mr Gillespie and Mr Rutherford, has kept me the stricter; but I hope our work is near a period. By this time I think you have my last book. —

So I rest, Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

*158. For Mr Tate.*

Right Worshipful,

THAT you may not forget whereof yesternight we spoke, I have sent you this memorandum. 1. That the ordinances for setting up the government in the country, and against blasemies, after so much delay, may at last be expedited. 2. That when the matter of itinerant preachers comes again in hand, some rules may be made for their election and work; at least that they may be tried by the assembly, and be found not men infamous for errors, as many think your three first to be. 3. That you mind the Oxford committee, and see the rules already past be put in the ordinance: That all masters, fellows, and scholars, take the covenant, and be willing to act in their places, according to the ordinances of parliament; and why should not Oxford have the favour which Manchester shewed to Cambridge? That all the new masters and fellows be tried by the assembly. Consider if Mr Lee, a very able and deserving man, ought to be set aside, only for his zeal against Independents: the deanry of Christ's church is due. The ministers would be sent to Oxford with all speed. 4. The pious and honest petition of Lancashire, a speedy hearing and favourable answer. It is the work of some to have it slighted and disgraced. 5. We have great need that now and then, were it but one half hour in the week, you



you should come to the assembly, and exhort us to diligence; also to clear handsomely the mistake of many, that your earnestness for the end of the Confession and Catechism, is nothing less than for the suppressing of the answer to the questions, or for the dissolving of the assembly. Sir, if such things be not minded by you, and some others, as your special work; that which is most dear to you, the honour, truth, and church of God, is like to suffer yet more. Your more than ordinary favour to me makes be bold to be your remembrancer.

159. For Mr William Murray. September 8. 1646,

Memorandum from your agent.

1. That what was promised to me in your name be really performed. I neither have, nor ever mind to have, any use of your service for myself; yet I should be glad to have that promise performed, (God will not ever be mocked): you shall never be a happy instrument for any good to yourself, or your friends, or the publick, if after so fair warnings, and great sparing, you will again run in rebellion against God's clear commands, and into treason against your own soul; doubtless a worse evil, if any worse upon earth may be, than what lately was near you, cannot but overtake and fall upon you if you return to your old ways. My care and diligence for you, in your hardest times, will excuse this liberty.

2. As you would be thankful to your master for all his favours to you, flatter him not now to his ruin. All with whom I converse, how willing soever to forget bygones if he will take the propositions, yet I assure you, so far as I can observe, are as willing, without any regret, to have him destroyed, if he will go on in his obstinacy. His partial and qualified grants, are taken but for tricks to make new divisions and parties for the compassing of his former designs, and these things will no longer be borne.

3. It is exceedingly provoking, that his resolutions should, at such a time, depend upon France. Shall nothing within himself, or nothing within this isle, be able to advise him? His kingdoms will not be governed by packets from over-sea. Such open indignities are at no time sufferable.

4. If





4. If he do not desire to ruin the innocent Prince with himself, bring him quickly out of France; or, if this now be not in his power, let Hobbes, and such wicked men, be put from about him, and the ill-best there taken into his service.

5. If he will yet join with Ireland, and endeavour divisions in Scotland and here, to embroil all in a new war, rather than take the propositions; then let him know, the remainder of love and pity, which in the heart of many yet remains towards him, is ready to be extinguished, and all I know will be most willing to have him, and all who adhere to him, brought to their ruin, without any more compassion.

6. If you have any love and pity towards poor Scotland, endeavour to divert its engagement in a new war, before such a design can be set on foot. The best of that land, who cannot but oppose it, must be crushed, and this oppression will cry to Heaven for more vengeance; and when all the power of that broken and desolate land is brought out, what will it do but destroy itself, and become the infamous instrument of losing to the King and his posterity for ever, that which, without their unhappy intermeddling, he might have been persuaded to have accepted, without more trouble or hazard to himself or others. None but fools will dream of a party to any purpose in this land. All with whom I speak, put it out of question, that if a new war should arise, the greatest malecontents here shall either be quickly satisfied, or else be so ordered, as not to be able to make any opposition to that party which is inclined, and on such an occasion shall be greatly furthered, to exterminate royalty.

7. I have many good witnesses of my respects to monarchy, and to King Charles's person, above many, if not all my fellows. This conscience makes me the more earnest to have such truths represented to him without disguise, and oft ingeminated in his ears, with freedom, as may prevent, if possible, the evident and imminent ruin of his person and posterity. Cursed be all these villains who now will be so mad as to betray by their wicked compliances an ill-advised and bewitched prince.



160. For Mr William Murray.

Right Worshipful,

It was your pleasure to give me two kind visits in my chamber. What then I purposed to have said to you, but was interrupted therein, by those who came in upon us, I have taken the boldness to write it to you in this memorandum, as my observation from my converse with divers citizens and divines of the best note among the English. I doubt not but you know from many hands much more than all this, yet I thought meet that you should have this much from me also, in testimony of my freedom with you, and of my love and compassion towards a perishing prince, and three kingdoms ready to fall in extreme miseries. Nothing doubting of your favourable acceptance, I rest,

Your loving friend and agent,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

161. To Mr David Dickson. September 22. 1646.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

— We have ended the Confession of Faith for the matter, and have perfected the most half of its nineteen chapters. The other seventeen, I hope, in a ten or twelve days will be perfected, and so all be sent up to the Houses. It will be, I hope, a very sweet and orthodox piece, much better than any Confession yet extant, if the House of Commons mangle it not to us. We are now upon the Catechism. We hope that also shall be a very good and plain piece. We are now at work, thanks to God, in earnest much more than ever. If the race hold, I trust this also in a month shall be over, and then Mr Rutherford and I will supplicate the communion for a demission. Mr Gillespie will be abundance to attend the queries. It will be a great question when you shall think meet to call a general assembly. We yet know not what to advise. It will be necessary to have the Confession and Catechism approved in a general assembly, as the Directory was; but we fear the condition of your affairs at this time, will scarce permit you to hazard to call one. Always be  
Thinking



thinking on this; for it will be a great deliberandum shortly. To-morrow, the House of Commons debate the ordinance against heresies and blasphemies; we are very solicitous for it. The orthodox and heterodox party will yoke about it with all their strength, the Lord be among them; for the right or wrong carrying of that business is of a huge consequence, and nothing beyond it but another question which this day is handled, How to dispose of the King's person? Great need had you there, as in my last I warned you, to see to the election of commissioners to the parliament, both in the burghs and shires. If that choice fall wrong, Scotland is in hazard to be ruined. It is like you may see the Marquis of Argyle shortly. The Lord help him out of his trouble; his enemies are many, and friends for any purpose but few; yet God is not dead. My service to Margaret, Mr John, and all the rest. I rest,

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

162. For Mr Spang. October 2. 1646.

Dear Cousin,

THESE three or four posts I did not write to you, partly through laziness, and partly upon expectation of farther and better matter; and now, when there is no better purpose, I am somewhat also diverted: yet lest I be too long in your debt, I must write somewhat. I was minded to have certified you in some mistakes of your former letter; but it is now fallen by, and I cannot find it. The false reports which went here of Mr Henderson, are, I see, also come to your hand. Believe me, for I have it under his own hand a little before his death, that he was utterly displeased with the King's ways, and ever the longer the more; and whoever say otherwise, I know they speak false. That man died as he lived, in great modesty, piety, and faith.

Matters in Glasgow go not well. My advice, which oft I sent with intreaties, was never followed; but as yet I think the refusers, though they did not well, yet committed no great fault, all things well considered. The former magistrates were more obstinately opposite to every thing which our gracious brethren did propose, for the furtherance



furtherance of piety in that town, than I ever did see any where else. When their capitulation with Montrose put them in the reverence of the state, and the committee of parliament found it expedient to remove all who had consented to that capitulation, I thought it had been better to have removed from the magistracy, session, and council, rather some than all; and if they had been so strict, it seemed just to have dealt so in Linlithgow, Irvine, Ayr, St Andrew's, especially Edinburgh, whose fault, in my judgement, was much greater than Glasgow's. But since the state took that course, I thought it no fault in our brethren to suggest the names of these whom they counted most serviceable to God and the publick, and to countenance them in the discharge of their office. That which exceedingly augmented the malecontentment of that people, was the great burdens. They were pressed by a great garrison, and the making of a very extensive and unprofitable ditch through their lands and yards; but in this our brethren had no hand to count of. The challenges that came on the Principal, Mr Edward, and Mr William Wilkie, and others, they procured them themselves. There was great reason to desire Mr Edward to be transported. I dealt what I could to stop all proceeding against the other two; and hopes, by our brotherly means, to obtain it. But their last bickering is like to be worst; James Bell endeavouring to have the former magistrates and council joined with the present in the new election; as indeed I could not much blame him to desire it, considering the general course which the state took with all other burghs and shires. I remember I advised Mr David half a year ago to take the very same course; for without it I saw no way of peace; and had it come from him, it would have, in my mind, done well. But James Bell would it too much, and would have added to the present council, not only the old, but also all living who had ever been deacons of crafts. This put it in his hand to cast out all the present magistrates and council, and so was easily got ranversed, and that whole matter referred to the next session of parliament, where I wish it may be determined to the good of all.

We were here in a good way, and very great hopes, to have closed all quickly and well; but we are now fallen in a very great cloud, and fear. I pray God bring us safe out of it. When the King's unhappy answer to the com-





missioners of both parliaments did come hither, it was our great care to divert this parliament from all deliberation about the King till he had yet some more time of advice. We cast in the debate of our army's return, and rendering the garrisons. With much labour we got that to a good point, to the contentment of all. We got the parliament to put the assembly so to it, that we expected a quick end both of our Confession and Catechism. All our fear was of a too great compliance of Duke Hamilton and his friends with the King, of which there was too pregnant appearance; yet that fear proved groundless: for all these men have concurred as effectually to press the King to take the propositions as we could have wished; though, in the carriage of it, they committed three or four slips of very gross imprudence very needlessly, whereby they offended a little both the King and the church, and the country and this people. But in substance they have hitherto, to the acknowledgement of all, done and spoken honestly enough. When thus all was running well, behold suddenly many cross accidents. We had laboured much, and were in full confidence to have Alderman Langham Lord Mayor of London; but, by the running of some, Gayer is the man, a greater malignant than sectary; yet many hope well of him. The assembly obliged themselves by promise to sit before and after noon for some time; but now, thinking they have satisfied the Houses, by sending up the half of the Confession, the first nineteen heads, they are relapsed into their former negligence. So we will be able few days in a week to make an assembly; for if there be one fewer than forty, it is no meeting; and though the rest of the heads be also past, yet, in the review, the alteration of words, and the methodising, take up so much time, that we know not when we shall end. Besides that we have some additional, especially one proposition, about liberty of conscience, wherein the Independents offer to keep us long and tough debates; for long ago they have laid down in this their mass, and plead for a liberty well near universal. Our long labours on the psalms, when ready to be put in practice, are like, by a faction, to be altogether stifled. They will have a liberty to take what plaster they will. The unexpected death of the brave Earl of Essex has wounded us exceedingly. He was the head of our party here, kept all together, who now are like by that alone to fall in pieces.

The



The House of Lords absolutely, the city very much, and very many of the shires, depended on him; but that which vexes us most is, that the King is so unhappy that he will do nothing till he have undone himself and us. Had he but granted the substance of the propositions, we would have guided it well enough; but his hopes of our divisions, and expectation from France, puts him further off than ever. In Oxford he was willing to have taken all the propositions; also he gave commission to Ormond to pass these horrible propositions of peace with Ireland: so no man thinks his denial of our desires is either of conscience or honour. This puts us to difficulties inextricable. They have passed a vote of disposing the King's person as their two Houses shall think fit, without any reference to us. We press, by many unanswerable reasons, our joint interest. They deny it. It is like we may join in advising, and get the question of power laid aside; but when we come to advise, we know not what to say. We expect one of these days William Murray with the King's last answers. We are certain they will not satisfy. Their course thereafter with the King will be more summar than we readily can join in peace. We see an inundation of evils; except the great God arise we are undone. These things were the subject of yesterday's full debate betwixt the two Houses and our commissioners. We expected £. 200,000 to have been put in our army's hand within a fortnight, and the sectarian army disbanded, and that party humbled, government presently set up, the ordinance against sects and heresies that now is in debate to pass, and be execute; but the King's obstinacy is like to mar all. And having done all we can, we know not what to do with him next. The good Chancellor is distempered with grief, and I with him also, and others of us; God help us. When we get better news ye shall get part; for the time I am not well neither in body or mind. Farewell.

163. *For Mr George Young. October 13. 1646.*

George,

— Things here are in a marvellous ambiguity betwixt great hope and imminent despair. The King, by the conspiracy of all about him, without the exception of one, is driven to his particular answer of the propositions. It is

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yesterday,



yesterday, as we expect, sent from Newcastle hither by William Murray. By many an express, by three or four even since Argyle went from us, we have given fair warning of the mischief which every day evidently draws near, and have been importunately begging the grant of the propositions, as that which alone is divertive of ruin; but we have to do with the most careless and ill-advised person in the world. The evil party here is driving on their design to profligate monarchy every day by the King's hand more than any other. The unreasonable vote of disposing of the King's person as their two Houses of Parliament think meet, without the least reference to Scotland, they still adhere to. In three solemn meetings, the Chancellor, Wariston, and Lauderdale, did so outreason them, that all the hundreds of hearers did grope their insolent absurdities; but for no other purpose, than to draw from them another very unexpected vote, of keeping up the army for six months more. The keys, the sword, and money, and preferments, in the hands of the sectaries. With much ado have we kept the report of these three conferences from the Houses, to be made in four or five sheets, on Thursday, by ourselves. The King's answer cannot be here till Monday. In the mean time they are so peremptory, that they may pass a vote, declaring the King, for no scant of faults, incapable to govern while he lives. If this nail be once rooved, we with our teeth will never get it drawn. If we get it delayed a few days, till the answer come, it is well; but when that much-expected answer comes, if it be not satisfactory, as we are extremely afraid for it, then, by all appearance, this people, without more delay, will strike the fatal stroke; the consequences whereof I am oft troubled to think upon. If the answer were satisfactory, as some hope there is that at least in time it may be so, if the patience of this people, by all diligence we can use, may be kept but for a few weeks unbroken, all would go well.

For matters of religion, albeit for the time in an extreme ill posture, yet are in a case of thriving, if the accommodating of the King did permit men but to draw up their fainting spirits. The fear of that miscarriage lets no man mind any thing else. London and Lancashire goes on with the presbyteries and sessions but languidly. Sundry other shires are making to; but all the errors of the world are raging over all the kingdom. God save Scotland



land from that pest! In the ordinance against that evil there is some little progress made. To-morrow, by God's help, we expect a farther. Our assembly for one twenty days posted hard; but since have got into its old pace. The first half, and more, of the Confession, we sent up to the House. The end of these who called for it, was the shuffling out the ordinance against errors; yet our friends have carried to go on with that. But others have carried the putting of scriptures to the margin of the Confession, which may prove a very long business, if not dextrously managed. It will be yet a fortnight before the other half of it be ready; for sundry necessary, but scabrous propositions, were added in the review. We have passed near a quarter of the Catechism; but we will not in earnest win to it till the Confession be off our hand. I am near ready to speak a word with the Anabaptists. I dare say, too much ease has not been hitherto in me or my colleague's disease. If any there desire any of our books, any of our merchants may send to James Parlane for so many as they think they will sell; for me, I will not meddle into it. My heart is at home long ago. The Lord knows, I am praying to God, and waiting for a door opened to return, which shortly I expect. This must serve you and your two neighbours. Tell Mr David his book is now selling, and in a good way of offgoing. The half sheet of the very encouraging Elogia of the prolocutor Herle, and the assessor Palmer, and of us three, he shall receive with the next. Copies of what we have done I may not send down; yet I shall do my best to have a copy of the Confession at you so soon as it is closed, if ye give me assurance of keeping it among yourselves three. For buying of books, I desire to supersede till you see to whom these shall belong you have already. I have said so much, that I think I ought to say no more to you three in the behalf of Mr Wilkie. I were inexcusably senseless if I put any doubt, that whatever comes on him by occasion of these letters, I, and I only, were the occasion of it; and I am sure all three of you, before the incident of these letters, assured me sundry times he was in no hazard. If I have any power with any of you, be intreated now at last to end that very great vexation of my mind, and let me hear that ye have settled him peaceably in his ministry. Whatever conditions you require of him, I will either make them good, or assure you to concur to punish the  
breach





breach of them. If in this you be rigid, I cannot but be more grieved than I will express. What great din is in all our universities and assemblies upon the Principal's dictates! to this day I could never hear the true grounds of it. I am sure none of you can have a thought of removing that man from his place, except ye know much more of him than we wot. Not any here has any such mind. Ding his business dead so soon as ye are able. Some of the chief sticklers therein are in great hazard of drawing themselves to them; for there be evil furnishes on them. However, it is a thing I cannot digest with patience, to see the preparative led to bring all professors dictates *in prima instantia* to a general assembly, and the rest of the universities. This is a way to keep the church and schools of Scotland in a perpetual uneasiness. Is the Principal of that humour, to teach any thing which, upon his colleagues first admonition, he is not content to keep to himself? For will the most rigorous justice call him to any censure? No man the other day in the assembly, when this case was on the table, did offer to contradict it; so it is passed in the Confession of Faith. I think, if I were one hour among you, I could, by God's help, make you all good friends. Believe it, I must and will have it so; or else you must pardon me some time in secret to weep my fill, but never to leave off to do my own part to my power, and to serve you all as God shall enable me. If God will make us so happy as to get the unhappy King and the parliament atoned, be assured I will send a command to you three to bring, by God's blessing, that poor town and college to a better harmony, whereof I would desire, when you had the happiness to make it to have the good hap to be its sequenter. The Lord be with you, and make my next to you so comfortable as my hopes, wishes, or more than my fears, presage. However, I rest just as when I left you, without any change,

Your very loving Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

## P O S T S C R I P T.

Dunkirk is in the hand of the French at a very cheap rate. Lerida they shortly expect. The Pope, for fear of them, has given the Barbarins all their will. The  
Emperor



Emperor offers to France so much of Germany as they crave, and almost to the Swedes also. The Hollanders are very near agreed with Spain. The Venetian is on the point of submission to the Turk. All the world is on a greance, and miserable we are like to begin a new war; but I hope God will prevent it. Ormond's three honourable messengers are here with his submission.

164. To Mr David Dickson. October 27. 1646.

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

By my last to Mr George and you, I shewed how things went here. Since, there is no change. My Lord Wariston will inform you fully how all goes. Before he went, I dealt with him, and obtained his promise, not only to move, but to obtain from the commission of the church, a permission for me and Mr Samuel to return. For this end also I moved my colleagues to write to the commission this inclosed letter. I intreat you, and Mr Samuel intreats you also by me, to concur with my Lord Wariston for the obtaining of our desire. He writes to Mr Robert Blair and Mr James Wood for this same end. It is true, I conceive it very necessary, that some of us would stay till our work were nearer an end; but truly, both Mr Samuel and I are so overwearied, that pity will plead for a dimission to us; and we do think, since matters are like to draw there so extremely long, that it will be enough for one to wait on: and however Mr Gillespie would be as gladly loosed as any of us, yet if any stay, without all question, all things well considered, he is the meetest of the three. But the commission possibly will leave to ourselves which of the three shall be left; only I pray you to press a dimission for two. We have been above three years absent from our charges, and the assembly proceeds so languidly, that we were more profitable at home. Mr Ruthertord's large piece against the Antinomians will in a few days come abroad; and mine, against the Anabaptists, I hope to have out before the assembly end the Confession; for that long I purpose to stay, though my permission to go were come. The peace of the kingdoms is still in a great uncertainty. We fear every other day, that the Houses impatience of the King's infinite delays break off in a fury against him, and then that he be brought to consent



sent to all but to no purpose, unless to engage our poor kingdom in his quarrel, for the joining of our ruin to his own. It is also whispered, that he is coming off to grant all things but the covenant and church-government, and that it is like the parliament here will close with him in these terms, without much regard to our complaints and discontentment this way. Also the King and they do us great wrong. Also there arises so many difficulties in securing the city for their money, that before it can be provided, there is great fears the country shall break out in violence against our army. It pleases the Lord to keep us still in great perplexities and dangers. I wish, if by any means you can, you might settle the differences of that town among yourselves; else the condition of the publick, however it go, is like to call upon the state to meddle more with that town than I fear shall be for your contentment. My Lord Wariston, I believe, will be willing to labour diligently in it, according to your mind. Peace will be the best of it; else the fruit of your ministry is stopt towards many. But truly I know not what to advise you. My heart oft pities the case, and oft prays to God for it; and were I beside you, I would, by God's help, do my best to help you.

165. *To my Lord Wariston. October 27. 1646.*

My Lord,

THESE are only to hold you in mind of our memorandum, and your promise. William Murray his dispatch, as it is intended on Thursday morning, has put our family-fast off from Wednesday, as your journey did from Saturday. This day, yesterday, and Saturday, the committee of the House has sat on the second ordinance for the city's security; but they are like so to clog it, that it will not be satisfactory, and so we fear the retarding of our money. If the King grant satisfaction to all the propositions, but that of religion and the covenant, and that be accepted by his people, as some whisper it will be, then both his and their ingratitude to God and us will not pass without a just revenge, though we be not in a present posture to take it. I gave to William Murray my free paper; who read it all, and promised to mind it. If you permit the Chancellor to be called for before your return, re-  
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solve to extinguish this commission. If God help William Murray to draw from the King, at last, a satisfactory answer, I wish my Lord Argyle and ye would come along with it. Farewell.

Your Master and Servant,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

166. To ————. [*This letter is, I suppose, for Mr Robert Blair.*] November 3. 1646.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

KNOWING your troublesome and fashious employment there, I will not trouble you much with my letters, only at this time apprehending our affairs to be drawing near some close, I have thought meet to acquaint you with some of my thoughts. Since Mr Murray's departure, I have learned that the House of Commons have given the covenant to a committee to be put in an ordinance; that the ordinance is drawn, and ready to be presented to the Houses at the first opportunity; also that some of the prime aldermen, and of the most leading both of the common council and ministers of the city, have been with me, and told me, that, as some of them expressed it, they will be ready to spend the last drop of their blood in his Majesty's service, if he will take the propositions; but if the covenant be not at least approved as an act of parliament and law, let all other propositions be taken, and both the Houses agree with him as they please, the hearts of the city he would never get while he lived.

I hear also, that not only the chief of the sectarian party, but some others seem in private to give their readiness to welcome the King, if the other propositions be granted, though the covenant be flisted. The sectarian party, and divers others who profess most to oppose them, seem to be in a way near a disposition to admit, unanimously enough, of a charge against the King's person, which they say is in readinets, and that the great stop to this, all fear from the Scots and the city will be removed. If they find that the King in his answer give not quick and full satisfaction in the covenant, I really believe the King is greatly abused if he deem that either the Scots or the city will make any considerable opposition to any course





the parliament shall be pleased to take with his person, if there be any more hesitations in establishing that covenant.

It is to me marvellous, that no experience, how dear or frequent soever, will learn his Majesty that one point of prudence, to do in time for his great advantage, what he must and will do ere long, without any thanks, and that with a great addition. The covenant now will do all his business. Will he scruple it till the ordinance pass, the next debate will be about his negative voice in the parliament; and very readily that shall be put in an ordinance; and without it also there shall be no admittance of him, or any of his, to the throne.

To many here it seems a great measure of imprudence, and (as some call it) induration and dementation, to be content that the parliament here should run out into the greatest extremities, and to hope that those shall be the readiest means to obtain to the King all his desires; for I verily think, that if the parliament shall once go on to the hardest courses with the King, upon his refusal to pass the covenant, and to do these duties which the most of the good men in both kingdoms are persuaded he ought in reason, he will never get, either here or in Scotland, any considerable force for his defence.

We think it is the interest of France to have our troubles continue till they do their business in Flanders, Germany, Italy, Spain, and where they please; and divers now begin to think that the King himself means a new war: but if it should be so, I confess it would be my great grief to see him after all his misfortunes, in that new misery of hastening the death and wrack of many thousands more of his subjects, for no purpose but the accomplishing of his own ruin.

We marvel that any should be so ill-advised as to think that Scotland will always be ready to join with the King whensoever he pleases to follow their advice. We think that a clear mistake: when their most passionate desires are slighted ever till the parliament of England have made their last declaration, that then any thing the King is able to do will engage Scotland thereafter, no wise man does expect.

Colonel Cromwell is a-coming from Holland, to be General-Major of the English foot. See if there be great appearance of disbanding of their army. The last ordinance of the bishops lands past yesterday. It is now thought  
the



the money for our army will be gotten. The other day orders were given to see to the passages on the Trent, that none may go north or come south but by their army's permission. We fear William Murray may be caught in his way. There is a high indignity here, that the King's resolutions for these things that concern the safety both of his person and kingdoms should have all this time so evident a dependence from French packets.

This people's patient waiting for the King's last answer is very near a final period; and all are afraid that one of these days the House of Commons doors be closed, and some high vote pass that never shall be recalled. I thought meet you should know this much from me. We are often praying to God for a more counsellable heart to the King than yet we can hear he has got. But if, when all is done, his obstinacy be remediless, we are preparing ourselves for mourning and fasting for these things which seem unavoidable, and at the doors. The Lord assist you in your wearisome, and as yet, I fear, comfortless employment. I rest,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Though all these things, and many more, are by many hands possibly conveyed to the King himself; yet these two or three days I have had an impulse of mind to have acquainted you from me of the present most dangerous condition of the King, and of us all, through his unexampled obstinacy.

Again, I tell you, from all I converse with, the covenant is his safety; nothing less will do it; and this will do it, by God's help, abundantly.

There are here four or five juntos, all of divers, and somewhat contrary cabals; but these who are little acquainted with the designs of any of them, are the greatest, strongest, and honestest party. Whatever they cause to be suggested, yet the body of honest men, neither for their, nor his Majesty's pleasure, will let themselves be long befooled; but if they find their hopes deluded, or near to strike the stroke, which if once they had done, all the juntos, for their own ends, will comply, and leave the King and his family to deplore these lasting miseries which their false suggestions did much help to bring on.



167. *To Mr George Young. December 1. 1646.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

— I think to obtain a dimission this week, yet it will be above twenty days ere I can take journey, for I have got out a dozen of sheets of my Anabaptism from the press. With much ado we have gone through, at last, the rest of our Confession. The first part I sent to you three only, in Mr David's letter, long ago. The whole will go up to the House one of these days, and so to the press. It is generally taken here for a very gracious and brave piece of work. We are now on the Catechism, a quarter of it is past; possibly I may bring it all or the most part with me. The L. 200,000 was all told on Friday last. All this day our commissioners have been agreeing upon the way of its receiving, and the going of our army. Great haste will be used upon all hands, no stop is expected. We have had sore labour these weeks bygone, to put on many things in the Houses, assembly, and city, much ado to get the great sum; but when once it was on a way, it ran faster than it could be received. It was my dear friend Dr Burges's singular invention, that all who contribute to this sum, would have as much of his old debt, with all the annualrents counted to him, and for all make a good pennyworth of the bishops lands; so the bargain being exceeding advantageous, the strife was, who should come in with his money soonest. By this means we got the bishops lands on our back, without any grudge, and in a way that no skill will get them back again. There is some progress made in the ordinance against heresy; also in the ordinance for the covenant: there will be extreme great opposition, yet we are in some hopes to carry them; and if so, the horrible list of errors here will get a deadly wound. The ministers of London have put out this day, a very fine book, proving from scripture, the divine right of every part of the Presbyterian government. The morrow the House of Commons have set apart for removing the obstructions of the government. The treaty betwixt Ormond and the commissioners of the parliament are broken off, so the soldiers which went from this to receive Dublin, are towards Derry. Imprudence, rather than treachery, has spoiled this good and great business. We  
expected,



expected, long before this, the King's answer to the propositions, and a good one. We think it may come the next week; but our hopes are not so good as they were, though the Queen and Prince be miserable in France, and would see an end of trouble at any price; yet the French ambassador, for all his professions, is conceived to mar and retard our conclusion. The King, all his life, has loved trinketing naturally, and is thought to be much in that action now with all parties, for the imminent hazard of all. Our greatest fear is, that the malignant Oxford Lords have drawn him to the Independents, for the undoing of Scotland, and the Presbyterian party here. We are sure our army and parliament will be honest to death, and will not draw on themselves, for any man's words, vengeance from God and man. The body of this people would gladly embrace the King and peace; but if one month longer he go on to dally, they will reject him for ever; and if he then run to us, to draw a perpetual war upon our backs, he cannot be very wellcome. Our commissioners here, twice every week, write such long, free, and true scrolls, as will absolve them from any guilt, if persons obstinate in madness will needs destroy themselves. I think all here shall either come home with me, or at my back. A base scurvy pamphlet came out against our papers, which by order of parliament this day was publickly burnt; yet the House of Commons answer to us was sent us this day also, little better than that which they burnt. Always paper-debates are the least of our care; we never lost yet at that game. The King's ways are our only true vexation. I trust no considerable men among you will, for their own, endeavour to make their poor country again miserable. I pray you, good George, write to me three weeks, though your letters should miscarry. —

Your brother, in grief,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

There is a new petition, almost in readiness, to come from the city for these things we desire.





168. *For Mr James Robertson of Bedlay. December 8. 1646.*

Worshipful Cousin,

WITHIN these eight days I have received two of your letters, but none before since I saw you, as I remember. At meeting, I shall satisfy your questions. For the state of the much-noised heresies here, you shall have account from me in a few days in the next part of my Dissuasive. Some few of the most active men of the House of Commons and army are for too general a liberty for all consciences; but the most of both Houses are right and sound, and the body of the city are zealous against all errors and confusions, as the world will see in their new petition yet before this week end. Generally the ministers over all the kingdom are orthodox; and the sectaries, except a very few, are but heady, illiterate persons. If peace were settled, and the army down, all here think that the noise of heresies, which now is very loud, would evanish. This night I count us as good as agreed for the sending down of our money, and the return of our army. I think, on Monday, and not sooner, it will go. We receive, at Northallerton, L 100,000, and the other beyond the Tine, when Newcastle is deliyered. Before a month all this is like to be ended. The King's answer, when it comes back from your great friends there, is expected here in haste. God forgive them that have made that answer worse than once it was. Had it been so good as for some weeks we certainly expected, the King had been received with great joy, and been put presently in possession but of too much power. But as that answer is like to be, many think he and it will both be rejected; and what that will bring on poor Scotland, ye may easily conjecture. Others think it possible he may be admitted by this people; but without any love or trust. Wicked, self-seeking men have contributed much to hazard the rooting out of the whole royal family, by the obstinacy and imprudence of the most unhappily advised prince that this day lives. I know and have been witness that these here have done all that lay in men to prevent mischief; but they have spoken to stones, and lost their labour, they have now given over, and looking what God will



will make the event. This is the incomparably best people I ever knew, if they were in the hands of any governors of tolerable parts. A great storm, if God prevent it not, is near and likely to fall most on the head of the contrivers. The Lord be with you. Within a twenty days fundry of us will be ready to take journey. Thus I rest,  
Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

169. To my Lord ———. [*This, I suppose, is to the Earl of Loudon, Chancellor of Scotland.*]. December 25. 1646.

My Lord,

WHAT I was speaking to your Lordship of Mr Blair, I wish it were taken in farther consideration. If it please God the King come hither, who shall be his ministers? By all means it must be provided, that he be not permitted to have any service either from Episcopal men or sectaries. There will be difficulty to get these eschewed. If the King have his choice, without rules from his parliament, he will take no other than Episcopal men. If some have the power either of nomination or effectual recommendation, without doubt the prime sectaries shall be planted about him. For the preventing of this, were it not meet, while the King is with us, to be thinking what ministers we could wish to wait on his family and children? In the mean time, while the King is on his journey, and while he is a-settling here, were it not meet to move his Majesty to require Mr Blair to attend him; and if it may be, to have the spiritual care of the children? The King cannot do himself a better turn. Of all the divines that I know in both nations, I think none so fit for the education of the King's children, for piety, learning, and good manners. I have had much experience of his singular dexterity in that art. The man is so eminent in piety, wisdom, learning, gravity, and moderation, that I think his employment would bring a blessing to the royal family and all the kingdoms. His Majesty would be assured, that there is no such means to keep the Houses from prescribing rules to him in the choice of his chaplains, as with speed to chuse such himself as may be above exception, and in whom all his subjects may have good satisfaction.



faction. Of our nation, beside Mr Blair, I wish no other but one at most, my worthy brother Mr Gillespie. Of the English, the ablest Herle, Marshal, Vines, Burgefs, or Palmer; but I believe Newcoman, Ward, Ash, Perm, Seaman, Whittaker, Calamy, would give as good satisfaction. I wish this motion were thought upon; as if it be approved, that the best means for obtaining it must be used in time.

*170. To Mr William Spang.*

Dear Cousin,

I know you marvel why I have been so long in writing to you. The truth is, I have every week these many by-gone been expecting some better matter; but that not yet appearing, I had still been silent, had not my journey to Scotland forced me to bid you farewell. Being overwearied with the insufferable tediousness of this parliament and assembly, I resolved to labour for a dimission. My other two brethren were earnest also to be gone. By our joint and several letters to the commission of the general assembly, and to our particular friends, we could not obtain more but permission for one to come home; who, and when, ourselves thought expedient. After some debates, I, who truly may best be spared, got the favour: for however both the other two pressed for themselves, yet both of them having their wives and families here, who in the dead of winter could not be got transported, and I producing a letter under the hand of Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Ramsay, and Mr G. Young, not only of the great need of my return to my charge, but also of the sickness of my wife and three of my children, I obtained at last my freedom, to my great joy. The treaty for our army, and so the committee of both kingdoms, being ended, and the next deliberation about the King, being of that importance, that our commissioners think meet to remit it to the parliament of England, the Chancellor and Lauderdale purpose to go home the next week, and I, God willing, with them. Our assembly, with much ado, at last have wrestled through the Confession, and the whole is now printed. The House of Commons require to put scripture to it before they take it to consideration; and what time that will take up, who knows?



We have passed a quarter of the Catechism, and thought to have made short work with the rest; but they are fallen into such mislikes, and endless janglings, about the method and the matter, that all think it will be a long work. The increase of all heresies here is very great, as you will perceive in the second part of my Dissuasive, which the next week will come abroad, but more in the third part of Mr Edwards's *Gangrena*: yet we think they will quickly fall; for it is a faction generally disliked, as composed of error, policy, pride, and insolent oppression. The city of London's notable petition would help all, did not the great unhappiness of the King spoil all our hopes. For many weeks together friends here did give him most free, wise, and friendly counsel. From Scotland the like duties were done. The only thing principally insisted on, was to approve the covenant. While we had great hopes of his yielding, whether emissaries from the Independents, who do like him the better because he rejects the covenant and Presbyterian government, or the French, who notwithstanding of all their contrary profession, yet for their own interest do endeavour the continuance of our troubles, has made him peremptor in refusing the article of religion. He drew up a particular answer to the propositions, and sent it privily both here and to Scotland; but finding it extremely unsatisfactory to both, he delayed to send any answer. The fear was and is great, that his evil designs continue either to go to France, where there is much speech of an army for England, as of one from Ireland to Scotland, or else to go to Scotland. It is much feared he shall be both able and willing to suppress the better party there, and draw the English armies on the rest. Always we have guarded so well as may be against his voyage and journey to these places. At last his answer is come to us, and this day was communicatè to both Houses. It is but a mere generil, that he desires to come here to be heard, for the loosing of his scruples. The Houses have voted his coming to Holmby house near Northampton, in quality little better than a prisoner; which he will never agree to. It will be endeavoured that the two parliaments may agree in some course of his restraint, if he continue in his unhappy courses. His warrant the other day was produced for stealing away the Duke of York to France. If either he could be moved to agree with his parliament, or they to agree among themselves





selves in any course for him, it seems we might have here, both in church and state, all our desires; but neither of these being likely, our dangers both in church and state are very great and imminent. They say the plague is ill in Glasgow: that poor town these two years has been a place of great trouble, and like to be of more: yet I will venture among them, albeit with small hopes of doing good; for things seem to be spoiled there irrecoverably in our days.

171. To Mr William Spang.

Dear Cousin,

I wrote to you at length before I came from London. I have had a long and tedious, but, thanks to God, prosperous journey. I am now here well. I have made my report in the commission of the church to all their contentment; our errand in England being brought near a happy period, so far as concerned us the commissioners of the church; for, by God's blessing, the four points of uniformity, which was all our church gave us in commission to agent in the assembly at Westminster, were as good as obtained. The Directory I brought down before. The model of government we have gotten it through the assembly according to our mind: it yet sticks in the hands of the Houses. They have passed four ordinances at least about it, all pretty right, so far as concerns the constitution and erection of general assemblies, provincial synods, presbyteries, and sessions, and the power of ordination. In the province of London and Lancashire the bodies are set up. That the like diligence is not used long ago in all other places, it is the fault negligence of the ministers and gentry in the shires more than the parliament's. That the power of jurisdiction in all things we require, excepting appeals from the general assembly to the parliament, is not put in ordinances long ago, it is by the coming of the Independents and Braftians in the House of Commons; which obstacle we trust will now be removed by the zeal of the city of London; so much the more, as our nation are taken away sooner and more easily than any did expect. All grounds of jealousy of our joining with the King, the greatest prop of the sectaries power in the House. However, in the *Jus divinum* of Presbytery, printed



ed by the ministry of London, you may see that burden taken off our shoulders; the body of the ministry of England, not the assembly and Londoners only, being fully leavened with our sense in all the point of government, and become willing, and able abundantly, to manage that cause, without us, against all opposites. The third point, the Confession of Faith, I brought it with me, now in print, as it was offered to the Houses by the assembly, without considerable dissent of any. It is much cried up by all, even many of our greatest opposites, as the best Confession yet extant. It is expected the Houses shall pass it, as they did the Directory, without much debate. Howbeit the retarding party has put the assembly to add scriptures to it, which they omitted only to eschew the offence of the House, whose practice hitherto has been, to enact nothing of religion on divine right or scriptural grounds, but upon their own authority alone. This innovation of our opposites may well cost the assembly some time, who cannot do the most easy things with any expedition; but it will be for the advantage and strength of the work. The fourth part of our desired and covenanted uniformity is the Catechism. A committee has drawn and reported the whole.

The assembly ere I came away had voted more than the half. A short time will end the rest; for they study brevity, and have voted to have no other head of divinity into it than is set down in the Confession. This ended, we have no more ado in the assembly, neither know we any more work the assembly has in hand, but an answer to the nine queries of the House of Commons about the *jus divinum* of divers parts of the government. The ministers of London's late *jus divinum* of Presbytery does this abundantly. Also a committee of the assembly has a full answer to all these queries ready. The authors repent much of that motion. Their aim was, to have confounded and divided the assembly by their insnaring questions; but finding the assembly's unanimity in them, the Independents principles forcing them to join with the rest, in asserting the divine right of these points of government, whereupon the parliament does most stick, the movers of these questions wishes they had been silent. There is no more work before the assembly. The translation of the psalms is passed long ago in the assembly; yet it sticks in the Houses. The Commons passed their order long ago; but



but the Lords joined not, being solicited by divers of the assembly, and of the ministers of London, who love better the more poetical paraphrase of their colleague Mr Burton. The too great accuracy of some in the assembly, sticking too hard to the original text, made the last edition more concise and obscure than the former. With this the commission of our church was not so well pleased; but we have got all those obscurities helped; so I think it shall pass. Our good friend Mr Zachary Boyd has put himself to a great deal of pains and charges to make a psalter, but I ever warned him his hopes were groundless to get it received in our churches; yet the flatteries of his unadvised neighbours makes him insist in his fruitless design.

When I took my leave of the assembly, I spoke a little to them. The prolocutor, in name of the assembly, gave me an honourable testimony, and many thanks for my labours. I had been ever silent in all their debates; and however this silence sometimes weighted my mind, yet I found it the best and wisest course. No man there is desired to speak. Four parts of five do not speak at all; and among these are many most able men, and known by their writs and sermons to be much abler than sundry of the speakers; and of these few that use to speak, sundry are so tedious, and thrusts themselves in with such misregard of others, that it were better for them to be silent. Also there are some eight or nine so able, and ready at all times, that hardly a man can say any thing, but what others, without his labour, are sure to say as well or better. Finding, therefore, that silence was a matter of no reproach, and of great ease, and brought no hurt to the work, I was content to use it, as Mr Henderson also did. For the far most part of the last two years, my writs did conciliate to me credit enough, and my sense of inability to debate with the best, made me content to abstain; whereof I did never as yet repent. We staid eight or nine days at Newcastle. The King took very well with me. I might have had occasion to have said to him what I pleased; but knowing his fixed resolutions, I would not meddle at all neither to preach nor pray before him. His unhappy wilfulness does still continue; and to this day he gets some mischievous instruments to feed his madness. Sundry made us believe the Queen was content he should do any thing, finding her disappointment in France from all hands.

There



There were some whisperings of the sectaries plotting with him; but this I scarce believe; for each of them do really labour the others overthrow. The French ambassador, for all his fair protestations, has been no good instrument; but that which has undone him, has been his hopes from Scotland, to get them, by one means or other, to espouse his quarrel. Much dealings, some think, has been both with the army and parliament for that end. It is very like, if he had done any duty, though he had never taken the covenant, but permitted it to have been put in an act of parliament in both kingdoms, and given so satisfactory an answer to the rest of the propositions, as easily he might, and sometimes I know he was willing, certainly Scotland had been for him as one man; and the body of England, upon many grounds, was upon a disposition to have so cordially embraced him, that no man, for his life, durst have muttered against his present restitution. But remaining what he was in all his maxims, a full Canterburian, both in matters of religion and state, he still inclined to a new war; and for that end resolved to go to Scotland. Some great men there pressed the equity of Scotland's protecting of him on any terms. This untimely excess of friendship has ruined that unhappy prince; for the better party, finding the conclusion of the King's coming to Scotland, and thereby their own present ruin, and ruin of the whole cause, the making the malignants masters of church and state, the drawing the whole force of England upon Scotland for their perjurious violation of their covenant, they resolved by all means to cross that design. *End of the year 1646.*

So when others proposed to the parliament the assistance of the King to recover his government in England, notwithstanding any answer he might give to the propositions, the better sort, before they should give answer to so high a question, desired a publick fast in the parliament, and the advice also of the commission of the church. Both with some difficulty were obtained. But after that fast, and the distinct answer of the church, that it was unlawful for Scotland to assist the King for his recovery of the government in England, if he approved not the covenant, the parliament was peremptor to refuse the King free access to Scotland, unless he satisfied the propositions. This much they signified to him by their commissioners, which we met at Newcastle. It was easy to be grieved, and to find





find what to reprehend in this resolution; for indeed it was clothed with many dangers and grievances; but to fall at that nick of time on any conclusion, free of more dangers and grievances, seemed impossible. Notwithstanding of the great sums of money, yet the disbanding of our army in peace will be a great task: to set on foot 6000 foot and 1200 horse, to the contentment of all, will be hard; and the entertaining them will be harder. What the King or his English parliament will do next, there is no certainty. The pest increases in Glasgow. My heart pities that much misguided place. All that may, are fled out of it. The Lord be with you. Foreign intelligence to me must now be the larger; for all here live in great ignorance, and neglect of things abroad. So I rest,

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

Edinburgh, January 26. 1647.

172. To Mr Spang. June 2. 1647.

— David Lesly and Argyle rose from Dumblane the 17th of May, with a very small and ill-provided army. He made very long marches over the mountains in stormy weather, without houses or tents. Against the 23d he came to Kintyre upon the enemy, fought and dissipated them, took in all Kintyre, has sent a party after Alaster, who, with a few, are fled to the isles. This quick and happy expedition may be to us of great advantage, if the Prince and Montrose should come over to raise new broils amongst us, as some surmise they intend; or if the King should put himself on the head of the Sectarian army, which is not yet disbanded nor quiet, David Lesly being free of the highlanders, by God's help, will keep Scotland quiet for this summer with the little army he has on foot.

173. To Mr Spang. Edinburgh, July 13. 1647.

Dear Cousin,

I received yours, the 6th of July, this day, and another of yours, April 9th, within these two or three weeks, together with your *Honorius Reggius*, for which we are all  
much



much obliged to your great pains in. That business which you so earnestly recommended to Mr David Dickson and me, was not feasible, had we used all possible diligence: but the truth is, although I believe ye know my willingness to do to my power in things that concern you less than you write that matter did, yet it fell so out, that I could use little diligence to speak of; for your letter about that purpose came not to my hand till near three months after it was written; and when it came, our whole town of Kilwinning were kept up upon some suspicion of the plague; so I could have no effectual communication, neither by word or writ, with any; and therefore I came to Edinburgh. That matter was settled on Mr Arnot, who had divers of the chief Lords of the Session to solicit for him. For the great sickness of your good honest wife I am sorry; but glad for her grace and patience. These matters of England are so extremely desperate, that now twice they have made me sick. Except God arise, all is gone there. The imprudence and cowardice of the better part of the city and parliament, which was triple or sextuple the greater, has permitted a company of silly rascals, who call themselves yet no more than 14,000, horse and foot, to make themselves masters of the King, parliament, and city, and by them of all England: so that now that disgraced parliament is but a committee to act all at their pleasure, and the city is ready to fright the parliament at every first or second boast from the army. No human hope remains but in the King's unparalleled wilfulness, and the army's unmeasurable pride. As yet they are not agreed, and some write they are not like to agree: for in our particular I expect certainly they will agree well enough, at what distance soever their affections and principles stand. Always if the finger of God in their spirits should so far dement them as to disagree, I would think there were yet some life in the play; for I know the body of England are overweary long ago of the parliament, and ever hated the sectaries, but much more now for this their unexpected treachery and oppression. On the other part, the King is much pitied and desired; so if they give him not contentment, he will overthrow them. If he and they agree, our hands are bound: we will be able, in our present posture, and humour of our highly distracted people, to do nothing. And whom shall we go to help, when none calls? but the King, parliament, and city, as their  
masters



masters command, are ready to declare against us if we should offer to arm. But if the King would call, I doubt not of rising of the best army ever we had, for the crushing of these serpents, enemies to God and man. David Lefsy has gotten all Lila, and old Colhittoch, without quarters. He is now over to Mull, and purposes within a fortnight to return, having no more to do in these bounds. That things go well abroad, it is a comfort to us. That Leopold lays a little the French pride; that all the Dutch princes, even Bavier, and the Ecclesiastick Elector, have left the Emperor, I am glad; but counts it a strange prank of ingratitude in Bavier, and of unkindness in the Swedes toward the poor Palatine, at whose charge most that neutrality, I fear, be concluded. I think your states wise in taking peace with Spain.

174. *To a friend in Kilwinning. Edinburgh, August 20. Friday night.*

LONDON, and the affairs of England, lie sore on the heart of many honest men; yet the prosperity of our own affairs here, both of church and state, gives us some relief. Mr Cheetly sent us word, that he was detained at Newcastle; which did much perplex us; for our state-meeting did depend upon his message. It pleased God to make his detainers let him go before the messenger of our state came to demand him. When he came, he gave us a full information how all affairs in England stood. The inclosed papers will show the incredible change that a few days wrought. The city's declaration and diurnal declare in what a brave posture both the city and parliament once were in. The other papers shew how soon all was overturned. The army marched through the whole city by way of triumph; but staid not in it, did no violence to any; only three or four regiments keep the forts about Westminster, and guard the parliament hall. For all that, the House of Commons vote sundry things contrary to the mind of the army. How long that courage will remain, I cannot say. It is thought that people, when they have felt a little the burden of the army, will break that yoke by one mean or other. The army's mind, much of it, may be seen in their propositions, a paper which I purposed to send, but now it is fallen by. By it  
 I they



they are clear enough for a full liberty of conscience, a destroying of our covenant, a setting up of bishops, of intralling the King so far, as in my judgement, he and they will not agree, albeit many think they are agreed already. If this were, our case were very hard. Never more appearance of a great discord, both in our church and state, some few days ago; but, blessed be God, the appearances are now much changed. Never assembly more harmonious than this yet has been. Our declaration to England, a very good piece, is passed without a contrary voice. An act against vaigers [strollers] from their own ministers, and a large direction for private worship, drawn by Mr Robert Blair, for the correcting all the faults in worship, which offended many here, is past the committee, without a contrary voice; and, I think, shall pass the assembly also, no less unanimously; which demonstrates the truth of what I said in my assembly-speech, "That for all the noise some made, yet truly there was  
"no division as yet in our church."

Yesterday, and this night, our state, after much irreconcilable difference, as appeared, are at last unanimously agreed to send the Chancellor and Lanerk to the King and parliament of England, to comfort and encourage both to keep our covenant, and not to agree to the propositions of the army. No appearance, as yet, of any stirring in haste in this kingdom, &c.

175. To Mr Spang. Edinburgh, September 1. 1647.

Cousin,

— London has lien like a millstone on my breast now of a long time. The first week we came to this town, my heart was a little relieved. I thought God had answered our prayers much sooner than I expected, and had put London in so good a posture for averting all our fears as I could have wished; but that joy lasted not full eight days. Stapleton and Hollis, and some others of the eleven members, had been the main persuaders of us to remove out of England, and leave the King to them, upon assurance, which was most likely, that this was the only means to get that evil army disbanded, the King and peace settled according to our minds: but their bent execution of this real intention has undone them, and all,





till God provide a remedy. We were glad when Leslie was recalled from his Lieutenancy of Ireland, a creature of Cromwell's, who got that great trust for no virtue at all but his serviceableness to that faction. This was the first sensible grievance to that army. The second was the employing of Skippon and Massie, in the Irish command, and giving to Fairfax such a command in England as made him not very formidable. But when the third stroke came, of disbanding the most of the sectaries, and cashiering of their officers, this put them on that high and bold design, which as yet they follow, as, I think, not so much on great preconception, as drawn on by the course of affairs, and light heads of their leaders. Vane and Cromwell, as I take it, are of nimble hot fancies for to put all in confusion, but not of any deep reach. St John and Pierpont are more stayed, but not great heads. Sey and his son, not ———, albeit wiser, yet of so dull, sour, and fearful a temperament, that no great achievement, in reason, could be expected from them. The rest, either in the army or parliament, of their party, are not on their mysteries, and of no great parts either for counsel or action, so far as I could ever observe. The folly of our friends was apparent, when at the army's first back-march, and refusal to disband, they recalled their declaration against their mutinous petitions. Easily might all their designs have been crushed at that nick of time, with one stout look more; but it was a demeritation to sit still amazed at the taking of the King, the accusation of the eleven members, the army's approaching to the city. Here, had the city agreed, and our friends in parliament shewed any resolution, their opposites counsel might even then have been easily overturned; for all this while, the army was not much above 10,000 ill-armed soldiers. But the irrecoverable loss of all, was the ill-managing of the city's brave engagement. Had they then made fast the chief of the sectarian party in both Houses. and stopt their flight to the army; had Mauley and Waller, with any kind of masculine activity, made use of that new trust committed to them; Mr Marshall, and his seventeen servants of the synod, for all Foulks and Gib's subornation, should never have been bold to offer that destructive petition to the Houses and common council, which, without any capitulation, put presently in the army's power, the parliament, city, and all England, without the last contradiction.



tradition. An example rarely paralleled, if not of treachery, yet at least of childish improvidence and base cowardice. Since that time they have been absolute masters of all. Which way they will use this unexpected sovereignty, it will quickly appear. As yet they are settling themselves in their new saddle. Before they got up, they gave the King and his party fair words; but now, when all is their own, they may put him in a harder condition than yet he has tasted of. Their proposals, a part of their mind, give to the King much of his desire in bringing back bishops and books, in putting down our covenant and presbytery, in giving ease to malignants and Papists; but spoil him of his temporal power so much, as many think, he will never acquiesce to; albeit it is spoken loud, that he and they are fully agreed.

Our state here, after long expectation to have heard something of the King's own mind and desires, as yet have heard nothing from him to account of. Although he should employ their help against his oppressors, yet he being still altogether unwilling to give us any satisfaction in the matter of our covenant, we are uncertain what course to take; only we do resent to our commissioners to oppose the proposals, and to require a safe-conduct to the Chancellor and Lanark to come up to the King and parliament. It cost many debates before it came to this conclusion. Our great men are not like to pack up their differences. Duke Hamilton and his friends would have been thought men composed of peace on any terms, and to have cast on other designs of embroiling Scotland in a new war. But when all were weary of jangling debates, the conclusion whereto the committee was brought, was so far to espouse the King's quarrel on any terms, that Argyle and Wariston behoved to protest against our engagement on any such terms. To avoid invidious protestations, both parties agreed to pass an act of not engagement. The proceedings of some are not only double and triple, but so manifold, that as no other, so, in my mind, themselves know not what they finally intend. They who made themselves gracious and strong, by making the world believe that it was their opposites who had brought the country in all the former trouble, and would yet again bring it into a new dangerous war, when it came to the point, were found to precipitate us into dangers, and that in such terms as few with comfort could have undertaken.



taken. We have it from divers good hands at London, that some here kept correspondence with Sir Thomas Fairfax, which to me is an intolerable abomination. The present sense of many is this : if the King and the army agree, we must be quiet and look to God : if they agree not, and the King be willing to ratify our covenant, we are all as one man to restore him to all his rights, or die by the way : if he continue resolute to reject our covenant, and only to give us some parts of the matter of it, many here will be for him, even in these terms ; but divers of the best and wisest are irresolute, and wait till God give more light.

David Leslie, with a great deal of fidelity, activity, and success, has quieted all our highlands and isles, and brought back our little army ; which, we think, shall be quartered here and there, without disbanding, till we see more of the English affairs. The pestilence, for the time, vexes us. In great mercy Edinburgh and Leith, and all about, which lately were afflicted with more of this evil than ever was heard of in Scotland, are free. Some few infections now and then, but they spread not. Aberdeen, Brechin, and other parts of the north, are miserably wasted. St Andrew's and Glasgow, without great mortality, are so threatened, that the schools and colleges now in all Scotland, except Edinburgh, are scattered.

While I had written thus far, by the packet this day from London I learn, that the army daily goes higher and higher, which to me is a hopeful presage of their quicker ruin. The chief six of the eleven members were coming to you, Stapleton, Esser, Hollis ; the second gentleman, for all gallantry in all England, died at Calais. I think it will be hard to the parliament and city to bear these men long ; and I hope, if all men were dead, God will arise against them. Munster is not like to be a school to them long. Cromwell and Vane are like to run on to the end of Becloud and Knipperdolling's race. Northumberland has feasted the King at Swa-house ; hence he went to Hampton-court. They speak of his coming to Whitehall. If he agree no better with the sectaries than yet he does, that journey may prove fatal. He is not likely to come out of London willingly ; and if the army should draw him, that violence may waken sleeping hounds. If they let him come to London, without assurance of his accord with them, they are more bold and venturous than  
wise ;



wife; and if the King agree to their state-designs, I think he is not so consonant to all his former principles and practice as I took him.

I know you expect some account of our assembly. Take it, if you have patience to read what I have scribbled in haste, on a very ill sheet of paper. I have no leisure to double; for our commissioners enter every day at seven, and we are about publick business daily till late at night. At our first meeting, there was clear appearance of formed parties for division; but God has turned it so about, that never assembly was more harmonious and peaceable to the very end. The last year, a minister in the Merse, one Mr James Simson, whose grandfire was, as I take it, an uncle or brother to famous Mr Patrick of Stirling, a forward, pious, young man, being in suit of a religious damsel, sister to Mr James Guthrie's wife, had kept with Mr James Guthrie, and others, some private meetings and exercises, which gave great offence to many. When they came before the last general assembly and commission of the kirk, Mr David Calderwood and sundry other very honest men, opposite to malignants, were much grieved, and by that grief moved to join with Mr William Colvil, Mr Andrew Fairfoul, and such whom some took to be more favourable to malignants than need were. These two joined together, made a great party, especially when our statesmen made use of them to bear down those who had swayed our former assemblies. The contest was at the chusing of the moderator. The forementioned party were earnest for Mr William Colvil. Many were for me; but I was utterly unwilling for any such unfit charge, and resolved to absent myself from the first meeting, if by no other means I could be shifted the lect. At last, with very much ado, I got myself off, and Mr Robert Douglas on the lects; who carried it from Mr William Colvil only by four voices. God's blessing on this man's great wisdom and moderation has carried all our affairs right to the end; but Mr David Calderwood having missed his purpose, has pressed so a new way of lecting the moderator for time to come, that puts in the hand of base men to get one whom they please, to our great danger. We spent a number of days on silly particulars. Mr Gillespie came home at our first downsitting. He and I made our report to the great satisfaction of all. You have here what I spoke.





spoke. Mr Calderwood was much offended with what I had spoken in the end; but my apology in private satisfied him. He, and others of his acquaintance, came with resolution to make great din about privy meetings and novations, being persuaded, and willing to persuade others, that our church was already much pestered with schism. My mind was clean contrary: and now, when we have tried all to the bottom, they are found to be much more mistaken than I; for they have obtained, with the hearty consent of these men whom they counted greatest patrons of schism, all the acts they pleased against that evil, wherein the wisdom and authority of Mr Blair has been exceeding serviceable. This yielding on our side, to their desires, drew from them a quiet consent to these things we intended, from which at first they seemed much averse. We agreed, *nemine contradicente*, to that declaration, which was committed to Mr Gillespie and me, but was drawn by him alone; also, after much debate in the committee, to the Confession of Faith; and to the printing of the Directory for government, for the examination of the next general assembly; of the Catechism also, when the little that remains shall come down; likewise for printing to that same end two or three sheets of Theses against Erastianism, committed to Mr Gillespie and me, but done by him at London at Voetius's motion; which we mind, when approven here, to send to him; who is hopeful to get the consent of your universities and of the general assembly of France to them, which may serve for good purpose. We have put the new Psalter also in a good way.—We have this day very happily ended our assembly with good concord; albeit Mr David Calderwood, serving his own very unruly humour, did oft very much provoke. He has been so intolerable through our forbearance, that it is like he shall never have so much respect among us. His importunity forced us, not only to a new ridiculous way of chusing the moderator, but on a conceit he has, that a minister deposed should not again be reposed almost in no case, he has troubled us exceedingly about the power of the commission of the kirk to depose a minister in any case; yet we carried it over him. We have obtained leave to print all our English papers, Catechism, Confession, Propositions, and Directory for government and ordination, our debates for accommodation against toleration, our papers to the grand committee, the propositions



propositions for government, albeit passed both in our assembly and parliament 1643. Mr David opposed vehemently the printing, and his grand followers, Mr John Smith and Mr William Colvil with him, because they held forth a session of a particular congregation to have a ground in scripture, which he, contrary to his Altar of Damascus, believes to have no divine right, but to be only a commission, with a delegated power from the presbytery, tolerated in our church for a time. With great difficulty could we get the printing of that paper passed for his importunity; but at last we got all.

An exprefs from London this day tells us, that the army's parliament presses the concurrence of our commissioners to send to Hampton court the propositions to the King. This seems to import the King's refusal of the proposals, and disagreeing yet with the army. And what they will do with the King, if he refuse the propositions also, we know not; only their last remonstrance shews their resolution to cast out of the parliament many more members, and to take the lives of some for example. The spirit that leads them, and the mercy of God to that oppressed people, will not permit these tyrannous hypocrites to rest, till, by their own hands, they have pulled down their Babel. The Lord be with you. Let me hear of the receipt of this, and help us with foreign news more liberally.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

176. To Mr Spang. Edinburgh, October 13. 1647.

—We gave in this day to the states a remonstrance of the hazard of religion and covenant, if our army should disband. We hope that plot, long hatched, and with too great eagerness driven on, shall this day or to-morrow be broken. Our dangers of farther confusion are great, if God be not merciful. The persecution at London is very intolerable. I am very confident that party, so much opposite to God and man, cannot long stand. Ere long, at my leisure, I may give you a particular account of all our affairs.—

177. Licet



177. *Lieutenant-General Baillie's vindication of himself for the part he acted in the battle of Kilsyth. To Mr R. Baillie.*

SIR,

AT your being here I did conceive you were desirous to know, amongst my other misfortunes, how I came to be employed in my country's service against James Graham, and the other rebels who infested this kingdom at that time; and what I could alledge for causes, or rather means and midfes of his victories and my misfortunes in that employment; wherein, for your satisfaction, you shall be pleased to know, that I believe that God Almighty doth often suffer the wicked to prosper, or go on successfully in their wicked way, for their greater punishment when their cup is full, and for reclaiming of his own, whom he suffereth for that end to be afflicted by them; in both which he is often pleased to use ordinary means. And therefore, by his Providence, after the battle at Longmerston, and the intaking of Newcastle, I returned to this country for doing my private business, and thereafter I went back into England; but being within twelve miles of Newcastle, at Battle-castle, I was overtaken by an express, with letters from the committee of estates, from the General, and some of my noble friends, requiring my return to Edinburgh, for giving advice in business wherein the kingdom was much concerned. I immediately obeyed the order; and at my coming I found, that neither the Marquis of Argyle, nor the Earl of Lothian, could be persuaded to continue in their employment against these rebels, nor yet could the Earl of Calendar be induced to undertake the charge of that war; for which I was pressed, or rather forced, by the persuasion of some friends, to give obedience to the estate, and undertake the command of the country's forces, for pursuing its enemies: but because I would not consent to receive orders from the Marquis of Argyle, if casually we should have met together, after I had received commission to command in chief over all the forces within the kingdom, my Lord seemed to be displeased, and expressed himself so unto some, that if he lived, he should remember it; wherein his Lordship indeed hath superabundantly been as good as his word.

I

Now,



Now, though the finding and ruining of these rebels have been talked of as easy, yet you shall know, Sir, that I was never enabled to do the same, neither by the forces given me, nor the provisions made unto me; I never having at once and together 2000 foot, nor above 300 horsemen, before my last disaster at Kilsyth, nor no artillery at all fit for intaking any strong house, though often demanded by me of the estate.

Immediately after my unhappy engagement, I was commanded to march with all the infantry towards Argyle, whither the rebels had gone; but when we were at Rosneath, the Marquis of Argyle hearing, that they were marched to Lorn and Lochaber, desired, that in regard of the season, (which was in the beginning of January), and scarcity of victuals, a part of the foot only might be given to him to pine with his own in these parts; which so soon as ordered by the committee was obeyed by me, giving to my Lord Marquis sixteen companies of foot, consisting of 1100 men; and returning with the rest to Perth, for the security of these parts, as was commanded by the committee. This party was ruined with the loss of many good gentlemen more at Inverlochy, about Candlemas, as you have heard. In the end of March, the rebels returned through Murray, Aberdeenshire, Merns, and Angus, to Dunkeld. Before which time, Sir John Hurrie was sent unto me, to serve with me as General-Major; which, though I doubted nothing of his honesty, I so disliked, that to some, even then, I told, that I would not have recommended him to the state and to their service for my right hand, which, if I were superstitious, I might attribute to somewhat else, having, since our overthrow at Kilsyth, learned, that when he was sent over to unto Perth, he was desired by some to take heed lest any thing might be achieved where I was present, whereby I might have honour; which did appear clear enough, by his not charging the rebels with our whole horse at their retreat from Dundee; nor yet would bring them up to me, from whence the rebels might have been charged in flanks, notwithstanding I did require him to it at several times by the Laird of Brodie and Mr Patrick Pitcairn, as they witnessed thereafter unto the parliament at Stirling; and yet, notwithstanding, he was exonerated there, and I charged for their escape. Not long after, by order of committee, he was sent to Inverness with some 1200 foot and 160 horse, where all the





foot perished at Oldearn; and I after that was returned from an unnecessary voyage into Athol by order of committee. I was appointed by them to go the same way with about 2000 foot and 100 horse. It happening, as we learned thereafter, that the same day that I crossed Cairn in the Mount, Hurrie was beat in Murray, I was appointed to leave with the Earl of Crawford his own regiment, with Cassils's and Lauderdale's, for the defence of the low country; and the same day that these 100 horse joined with me, I marched from Cromar towards Strathbogie, where the rebels were arrived the night before, and Gen. Major Hurrie joined with me about a mile from thence, with 100 horse, who had saved themselves with him at Oldearn. At our approach, the rebels drew unto the places of advantage about the yards and dikes, and I stood embattled before them from four o'clock at night till the morrow, judging them to have been about our own strength. Upon the morrow, so soon as it was day, we found they were gone towards Balveny. We marched immediately after them, and came in sight of them about Glenlivat, be-west Balveny some few miles; but that night they outmarched us, and quartered some six miles from us. On the next day early, we found they were dislodged, but could find no body to inform us of their march; yet by the lying of the grass and heather, we conjectured they were marched to the wood of Abernethy upon Spey. Thither I marched, and found them in the entry of Badzenoch, a very strait country, where, both for inaccessible rocks, woods, and the interposition of the river, it was impossible for us to come at them. Here we lay, looking one upon another, (the enemy having their meal from Ruthven in Badzenoch, and flesh from the country, whereof we saw none), until for want of meal, (other victuals we had none), the few horsemen professing they had not eaten in forty-eight hours, I was necessitate to march northward to Inverness to be supplied there; which done, I returned, crossed at Speymouth in boats, and came to Newton in Garioch. Here Hurrie, pretending indisposition, left me. There I was informed the rebels had been as far south as Cupar in Angus, and were returned to Curgassle, upon the head of Strathdon. At that time I received letters from sundry of my friends of the committee of estates, shewing me how I was censured for my slow prosecution of the war, (without consideration had of the

places



places they were to be found in, and of the forces and other provisions given me to find them out with): they shewed me, my friends were wounded through my sides; and that to be wary was commendable, but that delays in subduing the rebels was a real and speedy ruin to the country, my friends, and myself; whereby I conceived they would have persuaded me to think myself either a poltroon, or a traitor, or both; whereupon I desired Sir Charles Arnot, Lieutenant-Colonel to my Lord Elcho, who was going south for his private business, to pray my Lord Crawford, and some others of my friends, to deal with the state to give the conduct of their forces to some other, and recal me. By my letters likewise I returned answer, that I was in no ways enabled to perform that which they required of me; that I was altogether unwilling to ruin the forces committed to my charge in ways both against reason and common sense; and therefore my humble intreaty was, that I might be recalled, and some one employed who would undertake more and perform better. The next advice I had was from the Earl of Crawford, to meet him, with the forces that were with me, at the mills of Drum, upon Dee; which I did; and there his Lordship, with the Earl Marischal, and Major Winram of Liberton, produced the resolution and order of the great committee, for employing the Marquis of Argyle, (who was one of the signers of my order), in pursuance of the rebels through the hills, or whithersoever they should go; and to this purpose, appointed me to send to his Lordship those who were come from Ireland with Col. Hume, who were then some 1200 strong, the Earl of Crawford and Lauderdale's regiments, with some four or five companies, upon the braes of Perth and Angus, and 1000 Balcarras horse; whereunto he was to join all such forces as he could raise himself in the highlands. In exchange whereof, I was appointed to take unto me the Earl of Cassilis's regiment of foot, some 400 strong; whereby I was reduced to betwixt 1200 and 1300 foot, and about 260 horsemen of the Lord Balcarras and Col. Halket's regiments; wherewith, by the same order of the great committee, I was appointed to guard the low country from the down-fallings of the enemy. This division being made conform to the order, the Lords went from me southward. The Marquis of Argyle refused the employment. His reasons I know not. The Earl of Crawford was sent with these



forces designed for pursuing the enemy into Athol; and I, by a letter from the committee, was commanded of new (without regard had of my weakness) to find out the rebels. For which purpose, (and for a conference betwixt Seaforth and the Lord Balcarras, which failed), I marched into the Engzie, and from that back to the kirk of Keith, where, in the evening, the rebels coming from the hills, presented themselves to fight; and I drew our small forces in order above the kirk, in a place of advantage, to attend their approach; but they advanced not; but on the morrow marched unto Alford, where I arrived within two days, and was necessitate to buckle with the enemy, who were a little above our strength in horsemen, and twice as strong in foot. The Lord Balcarras's horsemen were divided in three squadrons; himself charged gallantly with two of them upon the enemy's right wing, where the horse were; but the third, appointed for reserve, when I commanded them to second my Lord, and charge the enemy's horse in the flank, they went straight up in their comrade's rear, and there stood until they were all broken. Our foot stood with myself, and behaved themselves as became them, until the enemy's horse charged in our rear, and in front we were overcharged with their foot; for they had six in file, did overwing us, who, to equal their front, had made the half ranks advance, and so received the charge at three deep. The enemy had likewise two bodies of reserve, and thir were they, who, by God's providence, did ruin me, as may be presumed, for want of these men who were formerly by order taken from me; and if such provisions, and other forces, as since have been plentifully furnished to others, whereby they have had, through God's blessings, happy and wished success, mine might have been no less. Immediately thereafter I went to the parliament, then to meet at Stirling, where I had an exoneration and approbation for what was past; yet in this Hurrie went before me. I would have demitted my charge there; but was not suffered until the parliament should come to St Johnston, or Perth. Many orders were for strengthening the forces, for the better pursuing of the rebels; but to small purpose: all were ruined but those who had been in Athol with the Earl of Crawford, and of new none were brought in but some 300 by the Lord Chancellor, the Earls of Cassils and Glencairn, and some 60 horsemen under Col. Harry Barclay.



clay. In the time of the parliament, the rebels, with their whole forces, came to the wood of Methven, and I, with the forces that were with me, (whereunto were added three new regiments out of Fife); and the whole noblemen and gentlemen convened there marched towards them from the bridge of Ern. Upon sight of us the enemy retired to the hills. I gave Hurrie orders to advance with Bulcarras's horsemen; but he was needlessly so long in crossing the Powe, that I, with the foot, was as soon at the ford of Almond (where the rebels crossed) as he with the horse. After our return \*, upon consideration of the many contests and hot disputes which were at every meeting betwixt the prime men of parliament, whereby I thought the country's service might suffer, I demitted my charge; and in open parliament it was received of me. I was of new exonerated and approved. Nevertheless, the parliament desired I should continue with their forces, without commission, until the 8th of September; which I would have refused, alledging, that whereas I was so overcharged with aspersions while I served them with a commission, if any thing now should miscarry, I wanting commission, and serving as it were at discretion, my enemies would undoubtedly take occasion to charge me far more. This was not satisfactory to the parliament; and my best friends did advise me to condescend to the parliament's desire; which I did, more for their satisfaction than my own; wherein I must acknowledge God's providence, and you shall find what followed in these other papers.

My Lords and Gentlemen, In obedience to your command, whereby I was required to inform you of the conduct of your forces since my demission at Perth, until that unhappy day at Kilsyth, your Lordships shall be pleased to know, that at the acceptance of my demission, the Honourable House of Parliament desired me to attend their forces until the coming of these appointed to succeed unto me; whilk I endeavoured to evade, and that because I being so highly scandalized, while I had charge, and served the estate by commission; if then, serving as it were at discretion, any thing should miscarry, or fall out amiss, undoubtedly the aspersions of the malicious, and my sufferings would be doubled. This proved not satisfactory; and therefore, yielding unto their pressings, I was content to wait on their service a fortnight; in which time, such as were appointed for the charge, as I imagined,

\* Here the three Fife regiments disbanded, and went home.





might both be advertised, and repair unto them, if diligence had been used. Immediately thereafter the rebels returned from the hills into Logiealmond; and I, with consent of the Lords and others of the committee who were then present, marched to the south side of the bridge of Ern, hopeful the regiments of Fife should have joined with us there. Upon the second day thereafter the rebels, having crossed Ern at or above Dinning, presented themselves before our quarters, which, with consent of those who were of the committee, I had caused fortify as well as time would suffer, for which the rebels marched up towards the hills on the right hand. Upon the morrow, the rebels marched into the hills of Forth; and I, by advice of the committee, brought their forces that night to Lindores, and on the morrow to the hill of Rossie; where the regiments of Fife, for whom the Earl of Crawford had ridden to Cupar the night before, did join with us. That night, with advice of these of the committee, we lodged near unto Burleigh. The next day, by their advice, I marched and lodged that night betwixt Sauchie and the bridge of Tullibody. Upon the morrow, hearing the rebels had crossed Forth above Stirling, these of the committee then present, advised we should cross above Stirling. And a little above the park, upon the south-west side thereof, I halted with the five regiments, until those of Fife were brought up, hearing the rebels were marched towards Kilsyth. After the up-coming of those regiments, the Marquis of Argyle, Earl of Crawford, and Lord Burleigh, and with them, if I mistake not, the Earl of Tullibardine, the Lords Elcho and Balcarras, with some others, came up. My Lord Marquis asked me what was next to be done? I answered, The direction should come from his Lordship, and these of the committee. My Lord demanded what reason was for that? I answered, I found myself so slighted in every thing belonging to a commander in chief, that for the short time I was to stay with them, I would absolutely submit to their direction, and follow it. The Marquis desired me to explain myself; which I did in three particulars, sufficiently known to my Lord Marquis, and the other Lords and gentlemen then present. I told his Lordship, Prisoners of all sorts were exchanged without my knowledge: the traffickers therein received passes from others, and sometimes passing within two miles of me, did  
neither



neither acquaint me with their business, nor, at their return, where, or in what posture they had left the enemy. 2. While I was present, others did sometimes undertake the command of the army. 3. Without either my order or knowledge, fire was raised, and that destroyed which might have been a recompence to some good deserver, for which I would not be answerable to the publick. Which considered, I should in any thing freely give my own opinion, but follow the judgement of the committee, and the rather because that was the last day of my undertaking. From that our march to the bridge of Denny was agreed upon, and from that to the Holland-bush, where we lodged that same night, some two miles and a half from Kilsyth; where the rebels quartered likewise. On the next morning, the Marquis came to the head of our quarter, accompanied with the Lord Burleigh, or some other, of whom I do not well remember. His Lordship enquired of the rebels, who, I told him, were at Kilsyth. His Lordship asked, If we might not advance nearer them. I answered, we were near enough if we intended not to fight, and that his Lordship knew well enough how rough and uneasy a way that was to march in. My Lord replied, we needed not keep the highway, but march over at nearest. I desired the Earl of Crawford and others might be called, who were in the next tent; who, when they came, consented to our advancing, and I marched with the regiments through the corns and over the braes, till the unpassable ground did hold us up. There I embattled, where I doubt, if on any quarter twenty men on front could either have gone from us or attack us. At the upcoming of the noblemen and others of the committee, whom I do not so well remember, it was asked me by the Lords, but by whom in particular I have forgot, if we could not draw up to the hill on our right hand? I shewed them I did not conceive that ground to be good, and that the rebels, if they would, might possess themselves of it before us. Their Lordships then desired that some might be sent to visit the ground; which was done. In the mean time, I went with my Lord Elcho and my Lord Burleigh to the right hand of the regiments. Not long after, I was sent for by the other noblemen, and I desired the Lords Elcho and Burleigh to go with me, conjecturing they would press our removing; which at our coming they did, alledging the  
 advantage



advantage might be had of the enemy from that field, they being, as they supposed, already upon their march westwards. I liked not the motion. I told them, if the rebels should seek to engage us there, I conceived they should have great advantage of us; farther, if we should beat them to the hills, it would be unto us no great advantage: but, as I had said, upon like disputes near unto Methven and the bridge of Ern, to us the loss of the day would be the loss of the kingdom. This was not satisfactory; and therefore I gathered the voices of such of the committee as were there, namely, the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Crawford and Tullibardine, the Lords Elcho, Burleigh, and Balcarras; who the rest were, I remember not; but all agreed to draw unto the hill except Balcarras. This resolution was immediately followed. The commanded men, with the horsemen, marched before; the regiment on the right hand, facing to the right hand, and so the rest advanced to the hill; where, I suppose, that was done by me which was incumbent unto me in all that the shortness of time would suffer before we were engaged. Whereof, and of what was done with or against order, your Honours may be pleased to consider, by the figure in this other paper. If I was either the last in the fight, or the first in the flight, I leave to the testimony of the Marquis's officers and Col. Hume's, and unto General-Major Holbourn; with whom, after these three regiments were broken, I came off as on the rear of these horses of the rebels who broke the Earl of Crawford. Thus your Lordships have, to my best remembrance, what you did require of me, whereby I hope it shall be evident, that I did nothing of consequence at no time, but either with the assent or advice of these members of the committee of state, whose advice I was obliged to take, and who had power to call me to an account for my actions, as likewise to govern the army, which they did practise and make use of, even when by commission I was in charge. How dangerous then, I pray your Honours to consider, had it been for me, being without commission, to have slighted their advice and counsel, yea, even though no prejudice should have followed thereupon?

My Lords and Gentlemen, Being appointed by your Honours, at your last meeting, that I should enlarge my relation concerning the advancing and engaging with the rebels near unto Kilsyth, in all the circumstances and puf-



sages thereof, and of every man's particular behaviour thereintill, in so far as I could remember; you shall be pleased to know, that in my former paper, I shewed your Honours, that conform to the resolution of these of the committee who were present, I sent the commanded musketeers to the hill, and desired Major Halden to be their guide unto an inclosure which I pointed out unto him; he did it. I followed them immediately with my Lord Balcarras and the horsemen, giving order to the foot to follow us, as I mentioned in my first paper. I desired my Lord Balcarras, that the horsemen might stay near unto the commanded musketeers; which was done. I advanced myself, where there stood a number of gentlemen on horseback, where I found five ratt musketeers, more than a musket-shot at random before their body, without any order from me. The Earl Crawford, my Lord Burleigh, and I, galloped over the brae to see the posture of the enemy, who were embattled in the meadow; and sundry of them disbanded, were falling up the glen through the bushes. At our return to the brae-head, we found the Marquis of Argyle, with sundry others, and we saw Major Halden leading up a party of musketeers over the field, and toward an house near the glen, without any order from me; neither did they come off when I sent Col. Arnot, and thereafter Routmaster Blair, to Major Halden, for that purpose: wherefore seeing the rebels fall up strong, I desired them to retire, and the officers to go to their charge. My Lord Balcarras and I galloped back to the regiments. He asked me what he should do? I desired him to draw up his regiment on the right hand of the Earl of Lauderdale's. I gave order to Lauderdale's, both by myself and my adjutant, to face to the right hand, and to march to the foot of the hill, then to face as they were; to Hume to follow their steps, halt when they halted, and keep distance and front with them. The Marquis's Major, as I went towards him, asked what he should do? I told him, he should draw up on Hume's left hand, as he had done before. I had not ridden far from him, when looking back, I find Hume had left the way I had put him in, and was gone at a trot, right west, in among the dikes and among the enemy. I followed as fast as I could ride, and meeting the adjutant on the way, desired him he should bring up the Earl Crawford's regiment to Lauderdale's left hand, and cause the Gen.-Ma-





jor Leslie draw up the regiments of Fife in reserve as of before: but before I could come to Hume, he and the other two regiments, viz. the Marquis of Argyle's, and the three that were joined in one, had taken in an inclosure, from which (the enemy being so near) it was impossible to bring them off. I rode down on the rear, and returned on their front. The rebel's foot, by this time, were approached to the next dike, on whom our musketeers made more fire than I could have wished; and therefore I did what I could, with the assistance of such of the officers as were known unto me, to make them spare their shot till the enemy came to a nearer distance, and to keep up the musketeers with their pikes and colours; but to no great purpose. In end, the rebels leapt over the dike, and with down heads fell on and broke these regiments. The present officers whom I remember, were Hume, his Lieutenant-Colonel and Major of the Marquis's regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, and Major Menzies, Glencairn's serjeant-major, and Cassils's Lieutenant-Colonel, with sundry others, who behaved themselves well, and of whom I saw none careful to save themselves before the routing of the regiments. Thereafter I rode to the brack, where I found General-Major Holbourn alone, who shewed me a squadron of the rebels horsemen, who had gone by and charged the horsemen with Lieutenant-Colonel Murray, and, as I supposed, did afterward rout the Earl of Crawford, and these with him. Holbourn and I galloped through the inclosures to have found the reserve; but before we could come at them, they were in the flight. At the brook, that not long before we had crossed, we overtook Major Inglis of Inglifton, Captain Maitland, and some other officers of the Fife regiments, who with me endeavoured to make our people stand, and maintain that pass; but all in vain. Thereafter we rode off together till we past the bridge of Denny; where we parted, and Holbourn and I went to Stirling, where, in presence of the Earl of Tullibardine and the Lord Burleigh, I dealt with the horsemen that were there, to have gone with me to Clydesdale; but lost my labour; for they finding the bridge shut, crossed the river at the ford of Drapp, except the officers, who thereafter went in with us into the town; where, by advice of the Earl of Crawford, the other Lords and Gentlemen that were there,

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the best course was taken that might be for that time, for securing that town and castle.

It is objected against me only, as if no other officer were to give an account, neither for regiment, company, nor corporalship, that on this our unhappy day there were no lighted buits\* among the musquetry. The fire given by the first five regiments will sufficiently answer what concerns them; and for the other three, I humbly intreat your Honours to inform yourselves of General-Major Leslie, the adjutant, and the chief officers of the several regiments: if they do not satisfy you therein, then I shall answer for myself. 2. It is alledged we should have marched from the one ground to the other in battle: which was impossible, in regard of the ground, and our large front; neither could we have marched with single regiments embarked from the north side of the water to the hill, but by turning a narrower flank of six deep unto the enemy, against common sense, and in doing thereof, that same time that should have been lost drawing up upon the hill in the ground designed unto them, should likewise have been lost, or rather more, at their imbattling upon the water-side. Besides, they should have been obliged to have wheeled once to the right hand, and when they had come into the ground, again to the left hand, which had been a motion of great difficulty in that rough and unequal ground; wherefore my order was, as I esteem it, absolutely the best, if it have your Honours approbation, that our battle which fronted to the enemy, and was to march off to the right hand, should by the several regiments face to the right hand, making the flank the front; so that even upon our march, the facing again to the left hand should have put us in our former posture and battle, if the enemy had attacked us on that way. 3. It is said, I did neither give word nor sign. Whereunto I answer, At our first imbattling it was not yet time; then we saw no enemy but the outer guard, neither was it resolved to fight, but most men thought the rebels were marching west. After we left our ground, we had no time to imbattle compleatly; *which Souldatti* † thinks necessary to be done before the giving of word or sign, neither had it been possible to have given them unto all the regiments in a point of time. Farther, it cannot be alledged, that the want of

\* Matches. Flints were not then in use.

† Two words not clear in the MS. Whether printed right, uncertain.



them made us lose the day, or that by the enemy's sign we could not be known one from another. No; the want of points of formality was not the cause of the misfortunes of that day; but God, for our other sins, did suffer us to fall before our enemies, whereof the only mean and occasion is only probable to have been in our removing from that ground whereon we stood first embattled, being so near an enemy who had sundry advantages of us. So by this and my former paper, your Honours may judge of my walking in your service since my dimission; and if there be yet any that desires an account of the disposition of things, and the many misfortunes of the country, while I was in charge, I shall not shelter myself with that approbation given at Stirling and Perth, but shall endeavour to satisfy your desire, by deducing unto you of new, and in particular, how little I was enabled for performing so great service as was required of me, and let you see my care to have preserved your forces when little could have been achieved with them, in regard both of their numbers, of the season, and of the places where the enemy was to be found; and, last of all, I am confident your Honours shall perceive, that the losses at Inverlochy, Aldern, and Alford, were not procured either through my negligence or counsel.

I being informed, that these noblemen by whom your forces were accompanied, while in obedience to your Honours desires I waited upon them after my dimission, have given in to your Honours a query. In what capacity they shall be examined anent the misfortunes of that day at Kilsyth; and not knowing what can be for their advantage, except it were that noblemen, who by their birth and quality are members of the estate and parliament, or the chief and prime officers of an army, are not so much concerned in the country's good or evil, nor so much to be charged for giving counsel in matters so much concerning the publick, when they do miscarry, as members of a committee, which, I suppose, few or none will acknowledge; and therefore I conceive, that your Honours answer may be such, ye not knowing how and in what manner we did live together since my dimission, as thereby some men might endeavour to infer my prejudice; wherefore my humble intreaty to your Honours is, that before your answer, ye will be pleased to take into your consideration, that if there was any act at Perth, ordaining  
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your commander in chief to be absolute, and without a committee, that this act could in no ways be extended to me, but rather to those appointed to succeed me; because in the act of my dimission is contained your Honours acceptance, and desire that I should command as of before, which was always with a committee, who had power to govern the army; neither was that act of absolute power ever intimated to me. Next, your Honours will be pleased to consider, that if, in the division of the army, and other things of consequence, I presumed not to do any thing but by advice of the committee while I had commission, with a great deal of more reason should I not have marched a foot with your forces wanting a committee, and being without commission employed in a manner at discretion. Moreover, I hope it is without controversy, that these noblemen were members of that committee of state, to whom, in the vacancy of parliament, all that concerns the publick were intrusted; witness Lieut.-Gen. Leslie's commission at his arrival, without more power from parliament than what they had while they were with me. They were constantly with me, though sometimes in greater, sometimes lesser numbers, even from the enemy's coming to Logiealmond, until they were all ruined; in which time I met daily with them. They consulted, disputed, and determined, in every thing as in committees: Instance, the resolution taken at the Powis, after dispute to retire to the south side of Earn; upon the south side of Earn, resolutions taken (if I have not forgot) in a formal committee, for some business of consequence, which I remember not; a resolution taken for putting our quarter in defence, and keeping the forces within it upon the enemy's approach; the enemy's marching into Fife; the resolution taken, after dispute, to march to Lindores; thereafter the resolution taken at the house of Burleigh, to follow the rebels towards Stirling; next, the resolution taken upon the muir of Tullibody before the Chancellor left us; next, the resolution taken above the park of Stirling, after some dispute, to march to the bridge of Denny, and from that to the Holland-bush; and on the next day, the resolution taken, by their persuasion, to draw nearer the rebels who were at Kilsyth; and after our imbatling in a place, apparently of surety, the resolution taken to remove into another ground; for qualification whereof, I must remit myself to the testimony of these

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same noblemen and gentlemen who were present upon the several occasions. How then, I pray your Honours, can they be mistaken in their own capacities, or alledge, that at any time I did any thing without them? Did they not in that capacity sometimes command the whole, and sometimes parties, from the army, I being in the field, without my knowledge? yea, and sometimes such acts of hostility, as I, without a special warrant from the estate, though I had been in charge by commission, could not now have answered but at the rate of my head, as matters go?

But it shall be said, there was not a quorum on that our unhappy day. Please your Honours, if that should have been objected to me, if the success had been good; or if through any fault of mine the rest did not wait on, or if I did not protest against the going away of some of them; likewise your Honours shall be pleased to know, that the great committee has sometimes approven things done without a quorum; instance the division of the forces at Rosneath: but if there had been yet two more to have made the quorum, and these two of the Lord Balcarras's judgement, yet the major part had carried the unhappy point as it went. But though your Honours should not look upon them as members of that committee, to whom, in the vacancy of parliament, the kingdom was intrusted, and by consequence the country's forces, which I trust your Honours found judgement will forbear, they are to be considered, either as noblemen, or as the prime officers of the army; and in either of thir qualities, if there had been present no member of committee for managing the war, I, in that exigent, the proposition flowing from them, was obliged to take counsel from them; of the one, as of the prime men of the state and parliament; and of the other, as the prime officers of the army, who should have both accused and judged me if I had not followed their advice, my Lord Burleigh only excepted; who, for his sincerity and known affection, for want of charge, should not have been slighted. And if I had slighted the counsel given, either the givers, considered as committee-men, members of state and parliament, or officers of the army, I leave to your consideration, if the enemy had marched off, as most men supposed, if this day I should have wanted accusers, either for treason, or pultrony in the highest degree; and that in confirmation of what had been said formerly of me.



If nothing of all this can justify my procedure, I will intreat your Honours to advert, that the estates desire to me was to command as of before; and of before, the great committee of estates declared, they remitted the carrying on of the war to the Marquis Argyle, Earl Crawford, and myself, which shall be qualified upon your Honours demand.

So being confident that what I have said shall be taken into your Honours serious thoughts, I recommend unto your consideration, whether or not these noblemens depositions should be taken, as members of that great committee to whom the affairs of the kingdom was intrusted, and daily consulters with me in all things of consequence concerning the army, whose advice and counsel I was obliged to take, in whatsoever capacity; or if on that unhappy day only, wherein all miscarried, they are not to be thought on in that quality they had been in formerly with me, and from the beginning in prosperous times.

*Act of approbation to Lieutenant-General Baillie.*

*Perth, the 4th of August 1645.*

The whilk day, the Lord Lieutenant General William Baillie having earnestly desired the Honourable estates of parliament to examine his former carriage in the late trust laid upon him, and thereafter to be pleased to liberate him, and to employ some other in that charge, finds, That he deserves thanks and approbation for his carriage; and again renews the late act made at Stirling for that effect; and do also liberate him from that charge, and accepts of his dimission; but, in the mean time, desires him to continue in the service as of before, until the 8th day of September next. Extract, &c.

*Act for managing the war.*

*Perth, 5th August 1645.*

The estates of parliament, &c. after hearing of the report made by the committee for managing of the war, and after debating thereupon, and publick voicing in the House, do enact, statute, and ordain, That the directing of the war shall be by the parliament, or committee of parliament;



parliament; and the actual managing and executing of the directions to be by the commander in chief, as he will be answerable to the parliament or their committee. Extract.

- The act doth qualify the necessity of a committee going along with the army; and I doubt not but your Honours shall find it without controversy, that, by this act, nothing belonging to the war is left to the commander in chief, except the discipline, which does chiefly consist in ordering of the march, the quarter, and the battle. The managing of the war, and directions, are solely intrusted to these of the great committee, whose directions the commander in chief is to execute; and therefore, I hope, I cannot be condemned for consulting and advising with such of them as were with me, I being without commission; and I will leave it to your Honours consideration, how it should have suited with the trust reposed in them, and their duty to the country and cause, if, upon any occasion, they should either have refused, or forborn, to have given their faithful and best counsel, yea, even tho' by me it had not been required.

178. *To Mr William Spang.* March 27. 1648.

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

— He is wiser than a man who can inform what course our affairs here will take. This is the seventh week that I have been forced to attend in Edinburgh; and yet we see small appearance of any good conclusion; but as they are I make you this account of them. After the King found himself disappointed of all the fair hopes made to him by Cromwell and his party, whether on their repentance, or their fear from Lilburn, Rainborough, and their levelling friends, our commissioners made more serious applications, and were more acceptable than before. At the Isle of Wight, his Majesty did live with them very lovingly, and upon great hopes on all hands. Traquair, Sir John Cheesly, Callendar, and all that came home before them, gave it out confidently in the general, that the King had given to our commissioners full satisfaction. This caused great joy, and a readiness in all to rise in arms quickly for his deliverance. But when I found all  
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bound up by oath, not to reveal any of the particular concessions till the commissioners returned, I feared the satisfaction should not be found so agreeable as was spoken. The too strict secrecy bred prejudices in the minds of the wisest. And when we heard the report from the Chancellor and Lauderdale at their return, our suspicions were turned into grief: for we found the concessions no ways satisfactory, and the engagements of some to the King upon them so great, as did much blemish their reputation with many of their intimate friends. Our debates for more than a fortnight were to come to the bottom of these offers, and to find a way how we might be free of them. We were malecontent with our commissioners: their scurvy usage by the parliament of England, their compassion of the King's condition, Lanerk's power with Lauderdale, and both their workings on the Chancellor, made them to accept of less, and promise more to the King, than we would stand to. They were content we should declare our dissatisfaction with the King's offers as we thought fit, both by the church and the state, on condition we would consent to a levy against the faction of sectaries. To this we were not unwilling, providing we might be satisfied in the state of the question, and might be assured, that the army should be put in such hands as we might confide in. Both these were promised to us in private; but when we found no performance, the business is retarded to this day. Betwixt the Chancellor, Duke Argyle, Treasurer, Lauderdale, Lanerk, Balmerino, Wariston, Mr Robert Douglas, Mr George Gillespie, Mr David Calderwood, Mr Robert Blair, Mr David Dickson, Mr Samuel Rutherford, many meetings have been had, night and day, private and publick; but as yet our discords increase, and are ready to break out in a fearful rupture both of church and state. Our meetings were long in private for a state of a question. We required peremptorily to stand to our former principles and covenant; "to have religion settled first; and the King not restored till he had given security, by his oath, to consent to an act of parliament for" "injoining the covenant in all his dominions, and settling" "religion according to the covenant." We stuck many days on that negative expression, "The King not to be restored till he had sworn the covenant." This much had both our parliament and assembly pressed upon him at Newcastle; yet at last we were content of affirmative





expressions: "Religion and the covenant to be settled, and thereupon the King to be restored." The next difficulty in the question was about the malignants. We were peremptory to have none of them in our army who should not take the covenant, and to have all of them declared enemies who should rise in arms by themselves for any end contrary to our cause. Here we had great struggling. In the writ which we called an agreement and engagement, the King's offers therein, too great favour was shewn to malignants. We resolved to beware of them so much the more. The greatest stop of all was upon the oath. We resolved to have these things put in a formal oath, to be taken solemnly by all the members of parliament and officers of our army. They declined an oath by all means. While we are like to come to no agreement about these things, the pulpits sounded loud against the dangers of malignants, but more softly against sectaries. We prepare also a declaration of dangers and duties, wherein we press to the full our dissatisfaction with the King's concessions in matters of religion. This gave great offence to our commissioners. We had put them to it to give us in writ the report what passed between them and the King concerning religion; for his Majesty in his letter to us had said, he had offered to them what he was confident would give us satisfaction, which they are necessitated to give us in writ these private concessions, and be content to have them, and our reasons against them, published to the world. They were not a little offended; but there was no remedy. To our sense, they had passed the bounds of their duty, though both the committee of estates, and parliament itself, had, in a fair general, without examination, approved all they had done. We thought it destructive to our cause and covenant, and ourselves absolutely impeded from all motion for the King till these grounds of motion were publicly disclaimed. It increased our offence, that so many noblemen did vex us with debates and votes openly in face of the commission, after we had changed in private, for the satisfaction of the Chancellor and Lauderdale, many passages of our writ; also that they had laboured to their power to make a party among the ministers to oppose us, Mr Andrew Ramsay, Mr Andrew Fairfoul, Mr Robert Laurie, Mr Andrew Aistleit, and divers others; but especially Mr William Colvil, who had in private objected against one passage,

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inferring the necessity upon conscience to restore the King presently to the exercise of his full regal power in all his dominions, notwithstanding of all he had done, without any condition, either of covenant, religion, or propositions; that we were obliged to do this duty unto him, and never more to oppose till we found him abuse this power; and then we might resist, albeit no more but the abuse of this power. I did think it enough in our subcommittee to bring him to acknowledge so shameful a tenet, all of us thinking he would not have the boldness any more in publick to speak to such a purpose; yet in the face of the commission, in a very jeering insolent way, being a little provoked by the indiscreet challenge of Mr Rutherford, he offered to reason for such a conclusion. We had not failed to have called him to an account for his malapertness, had not the intervention of other greater affairs diverted us.

By this time the parliament was set. Never so many noblemen present in any of our parliaments; near fifty Earls and Lords. Among them were found but eight or nine for our way; Argyle, Eglinton, Cassils, Lothian, Arbuthnot, Torphichen, Ross, Balmerino, Cupar, Burleigh, and sometimes the Chancellor and Balcarras. All the rest, with more than the half of the Barons, and almost the half of the Burgeses, especially the greater towns, Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee, Aberdeen, St Andrew's, Linlithgow, ran in a firing after Duke Hamilton's vote. That party, besides the advantage of the number of two at least to one, had likewise the most of the ablest speakers. For us none did speak but Argyle and Warinton, and sometimes Cassils and Balmerino; but they had the Duke, the Treasurer, Lanerk, Lauderdale, Traquair, Glencairn, Cochran, Lee, all able spokesmen; yet the other party had the advantage of reputation, having from the beginning been constant in our cause: also all the assistance the church could make was for them. The first bickering was for our declaration. When, contrary to their minds, we had passed it, they were earnest it might not be published; but we had given orders, as ever had been our custom, to print it, even before we had communicated it to the parliament. They had divers purposes, either by persuation or violence, to have kept it in; but we let it go out on Monday, and ordained it to be read on Sunday thereafter in all the kirks of Edinburgh, and a-



bout. That which hastened it out was our irritation by the Treasurer's challenge of Argyle on the Monday morning; an unhappy accident, that was ready to have kindled the fire amongst us all, had not God prevented it. Argyle's enemies had of a long time burdened him, among many slanders, with that of cowardice and cullionry. On the Friday afternoon in parliament, discoursing merrily with the Treasurer, he said, "He heard of a meeting" whereat the Treasurer had been the other night." Speaking a little of this purpose, he apprehended, that the Treasurer had said, not only that the best men of the kingdom had been at that meeting, but also, that himself was a better man than he. Upon this, Argyle goes out of the House in anger, and calls for Major Innes, who sat at both their feet, and heard their discourse, to know if he had heard the Treasurer say, that himself was a better man than Argyle. Innes did not avow the words; but being sent to the Treasurer from Argyle, to try if he had spoken so, he said, He would not account to Argyle what he said; but whatever it was, he would make it good with his sword. Upon this, Argyle desired him to appoint time and place; and on the Sunday, a publick fast-day, the Treasurer sent back word, after both sermons, that on Musselburgh links, at seven o'clock to-morrow morning, he should meet him, and bring a nobleman for a second. Innes, albeit no great friend to Argyle, not only offered himself to Argyle for a second, but told him, he would resent it as a wrong if he were not admitted; so Argyle, with no flesh but Innes, the Treasurer, and Lanerk his second, did meet. Incontinent all were missed, and many ran to all quarters to search for them; and, by God's providence, before they began their plea, some fell on them, and made them part without a stroke. The council that night, with much ado, got them to a professed coldrise friendship. We had resolved in the commission of the church, to have made both before the congregation acknowledge their fault; so much the more, as Sinclair and David Lefly, Eglinton, and Glencairn, some days before; and some days after, Kenmuir and Cranston, had been on the like engagements: but other matters put that out of our heads.

The publishing of our printed declaration put some of the parliament on many hard thoughts of us; but the result of all was, the calling of six of us to confer with six  
of



of their great committee upon a state of a question. For them were, Lauderdale, Lanerk, Humbie, Lee, Archibald Sydsferf, and Sir Alexander Wedderburn, with the Chancellor: For us, Mr David Calderwood, Mr D. Dickson, Mr G. Gillespie, Craighall, Libberton, I, with the modertor Mr Robert Douglas. They produced to us a draught of a declaration, penned with a great deal of deliberation, by the counfel of many, but especially by Lanerk's pen. They had slandered us exceedingly, as opposite to all war with the English sectaries on any terms. To clear that mistake, I wrote, and put in divers hands, Lanerk's among others, the paper which herewith I fend you. Their draught did endeavour to give pretty good satisfaction to most of our doubts; yet after a day's advisement, we found it so unsatisfactory, that themselves were content we should take it to our consideration to be corrected as we found expedient. Mr Gillespie and my Lord Wariston had drawn an oath of association, which pleased themselves well, but their opposites extremely ill, and their best friends but so and so, when best corrected. In our draught we took so much of their declaration, and our friends oath of association, as we thought made a state of a question which should be satisfactory to all; and here, to my great joy, were we on the very nick of a cordial agreement: but behold a most unhappy accident, which did put us to, and yet has kept us in a discord almost irreconcilable. There was a great desire in the chief that were for an engagement, to seize on Berwick and Carlisle, both for the extreme great advantage of these places, and also to begin the war, for the encouraging of our friends abroad, and wakening our people at home. This they counted no wrong, nor invasion of England; their quarrel being only against the sectaries and their adherents, for vindicating of our covenant, for the rescue of the King, parliament, and oppressed covenanters. An indiction needed not against this enemy. The towns of England, for our passing and safe retreat in the prosecution of the common cause, ought to be patent. Yet the most of us were averse from this design, and had long kept it off. In a few days we found the parliament, two thirds for one, otherwise affected than we wished. So soon as it was constitute, there was an inclination to make a close committee for the greatest affairs. Six of every state were named. So long as their power was not determined, we were not startled;





startled; but so soon as they got an absolute power to do what was fitting for the safety of the kingdom, in relation to Berwick and Carlisle, incontinent all were alarmed. Six of the trustiest members of parliament protested against that vote. The protestation was not admitted; but the protestors thereafter kept themselves together; and albeit the least, yet they kept the reputation of the best part of the parliament. Privately and publickly we gave warning, that the passing of such a vote would break us irrecoverably; but we were believed too late. My Lord Calendar's party were so furiously earnest to possess Berwick, and to begin action, that they threatened to desert Hamilton and his friends if they delayed the vote any longer: so it passed, notwithstanding our earnest intreaties, and our friends protestation to the contrary. The issue was, we refused to confer any more on the state of a question. The protestors confirmed their union. Many of the thirs sent in to supplicate against all engagement, unless the kirk were satisfied in the state of a question. David Lesly, Holburn, with the rest of the officers, declared their resolution, not to move without our satisfaction. After some days contest, we found a great change. The Chancellor that had hitherto been too far for the engagers, offended with their unreasonable proceedings, came almost wholly off them to us his old and best friends. The chief of the Duke's friends came to intreat us to accept all we could desire, to state the question according to our mind, to be assured to have such in our armies and committees as we liked, to give over the surprise of Berwick, and all acting by the close committee. These things, by the Treasurer and others, were offered to us, with many fair and earnest expressions. As yet we are not satisfied by words, and some of our leaders are likely never to be satisfied, and resolve to trust to nothing that their opposites can do or say, so long as this parliament, which they call un-found, is in being. The danger of this rigidity is like to be fatal to the King, to the whole isle, both churches and states. We mourn for it to God. Though it proceed from two or three men at most, yet it seems remediless. If we be kept from a present civil war, it is God, and not the wisdom of our most wise and best men, which will save us. I am more and more in the mind, that it were for the good of the world, that churchmen did meddle with ecclesiastick affairs only; that were they ever so able other-  
wise,



wife, they are unhappy statesmen; that as Erastianism is hurtful to the church, so an Episcopal papacy is unfortunate for the state. If no man were wiser than I am, we should not make many scruples to settle the throne, and pull down the sectaries. Never more high and dangerous questions in Scots hands. What the conclusion will be, a few days will declare.

While we are sticking in these labyrinths, one of our number, none of the most rigid, falls on the overture to propone the commission of the general assembly's desires all together immediately to the parliament, wherein, if we got satisfaction, we were to go on as they desired us, to state a question. The motion was approved. This draught of eight articles, after some changes of it to the worse, was passed, and presented, in name of the commission of the church, by Mr Robert Blair, Mr Robert Ramtay, and I. For answer, the eighteen of their first great committee, with the addition of six more, twenty-four in all, the prime members of parliament, were appointed to confer with us on these our desires. The commission, to these seven who had met before with the subcommittee of parliament upon their declaration, added Mr Robert Blair and Mr Andrew Cant. On the Thursday, before noon, they went through the first five of our desires. All the sticking was on the sixth; wherein we pressed to have the malignants who should rise in arms by themselves declared enemies, as well as sectaries. This was contrary to the King's agreement with some, and their intentions, who, without the help of malignants, made the work impossible. At last we carried the article. In the afternoon we had almost differed on the sixth, the King's oath to consent to an act of parliament for injoining the solemn league before his restitution to the exercise of the royal power. We pressed him not to take the covenant; but whatever his conscience was, we conceived him bound to consent to the necessary laws of the kingdom. Thus his good-dame Queen Mary assented to the acts of parliament for the Reformed religion. This also did pass for the substance; only a committee was appointed to smooth some expressions about the King's restitution. We had no power to recede from any word, and so would not be at any committee for changing any expression, but believed the commission of the kirk would not stick at words, if the matter were well secured. On the seventh article, for managing



naging the war by constant hands, there was not much debate. We could here fall on no words which might not be granted, and yet little for our advantage; albeit this was the greatest of all our difficulties. Upon the constitution of the army depended all our human safety, hope, and security of whatever else was granted. It goes now so, that no trust remains to any words or oaths: except therefore force were in the hands of our friends, we resolved not to stir; and yet we could not crave any such particular, but had necessity to have it done one way or other. Some underhand did move to have the Duke General. Callender and his friends were careful to free us of this fear; for generally all but the Dukes's own followers doubted much the sincerity of his intentions, either for religion or the King; albeit I confess, whenever I heard him or his brother speak in earnest, they seemed to me to give ample satisfaction; but as yet they have not the fortune to be believed by many. Ochiltree's business sticks still in the throats of some. Upon too great probability, Callender, by his own party, which is great, is wished General: but his inflexibility to serve against Montrose, upon the sense of private injuries, whereby indelible marks of disgrace were printed on the face of Scotland, and his very ambiguous proceedings in England at Hereford and elsewhere, make us that we dare not put our lives and religion in his hands. David Leslie and Holburn are more beloved by us. The old General, for all his infirmities, is acceptable; also Middleton, and the general of the artillery, will not be refused. In private we were assured these should be the general officers; but we will not be assured without sight, and our main difficulties will be upon the committees to govern the state and army in the intervals of the sessions of parliament. If herein they permit them whom we count trusty, to have full power, when they can carry what they will in parliament, it will be a great wonder; yet if in this we get not satisfaction, nothing else will satisfy. We expect little debate on the eighth article, to have an oath for all this; but herein we were peremptory, and hope to obtain. It was my wish, that only the parliament and officers of the army should swear, and that the body of the land should be put to no more oaths; but it seems this association must be no less sworn than our two former covenants. While thus far we had proceeded on Thursday, I thought we were as



good as agreed; so I resolved to go home to-morrow; for the opening of our provincial synod lay on me as the last moderator; also a new very dangerous infection was broken up in Glasgow, and come to my very gates. Upon these reasons, after eight weeks stay, I got leave from the commission to return; albeit very hardly, for our business was not fully closed, and I had immediate access and trust with sundry of the most leading men, with whom I was esteemed to do no evil service; while others, by their way, did irritate more; also we had resolved to have reason of Mr W. Colvil and his followers for their great and dangerous insolency, not so much in their open contempt, neglecting to read our declaration, as in their sermons and private negotiations, both with noblemen and ministers, to frame a faction for dividing of our church, wherein the peremptory rigidity of some, the too great simplicity of others, and the evil talents of more, gave them the occasion to make too great progress; but having staid till I declared my sense abundantly against these men, and helped to bring them low, and put them in a way either to recant or be censured, I came away on the Friday morning, and to my own house at night. The college was almost totally dissolved for fear of the plague. We are waiting on the Lord's pleasure, what he will do with Glasgow, whether yet it may be spared from the plague, whereof I am not desperate; and what shall be the next act of the long tragedy among us. Much speech of the Prince's coming: as yet our affairs are not in a condition to receive him as I could wish; but ere long he may be welcome. I cannot, of certain knowledge, hear any thing of that youth, whereby I can conjecture, on any hand, what to hope or fear. His mother's unkindness to the Queen of Bohemia and her sons is visibly retaliated in the eyes of all Europe. My best wishes are for the restitution of King James's family. Before this, I see no appearance of any solid peace, either to Germany or Britain. This long letter shall be a ground of a challenge, if you write so rare and so short as this while bygone. Farewell.

*Glasgow, March 28. 1648.*





179. To Mr William Spang. June 26. 1648.

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

SINCE my last, March 28th, I have heard nothing from you, nor long before. Our affairs since have had a great progress, but not an inch to the better. All appearance of any possibility to agree, daily does more and more vanish. A spirit of bitterness, jealousy, and mutual contempt, grows on all hands, and the stronger party is begun to persecute the weaker, and that evil is like much to increase quickly. The course of affairs may draw both beside any intention to do the worst of that which has been objected to either as their design. The sectaries and malignants may shortly divide the whole isle, to the great danger and hurt of the King and the honest Presbyterians in both kingdoms. Our storm is yet but waxing; we can make but small judgement of its end.

When I closed my last to you, as then I wrote, there was some good hope of concord, a pretty good answer was expected to our eight desires; but some unhappy men made all these hopes to flee away. The committee of twenty-four framed their answer, and got it passed in an act of parliament before it came to the commission of the kirk. They to whom the consideration of it was committed, looked so narrowly into every word of it, that they found shares in every other line, and not one of our eight desires satisfied. This much the commission represented in a new paper, added a new desire, to declare against the negative voice of the King, which the commissioners papers in England had so much pressed. This draught of Mr James Guthrie's, in the absence of Mr G. Gillespie, was as ill taken when it came to the parliament as any other, and so was as good as laid aside, till in the large declaration they gave it an answer. In the mean time they put out the act of posture for setting all the kingdom in a defence against invasion; but in a few days came out the act of levy, which, incontinent, alarmed all. The first narrative was ill taken, a danger from the malignants that had taken Berwick and Carlisle. The world knew there was no danger to us from them, for they had been with us in Edinburgh, and their enterprise

upon



upon Berwick and Carlisle was generally believed not to have been undertaken without some of our privities. The act therefore, before publishing, was helped, grounding our levy on the danger from the army of sectaries, which these surprises would draw down on our borders; and in this there is like to be no false prophecy.

Here it was where our differences began first to be irreconcilable. We stood on the managers of the war as much as any one thing. The committees of shires, and crownors for the posture, were indifferent; but when it came to the levy, generally all the crownors of horse and foot were chosen as Duke Hamilton and Callender liked. Our friends here got very little of their will; but the copestone was put upon our despair, when we found Hamilton and Callender, how much contrare soever one to another, yet at last, after there had been much speech and dealing of either to join with Argyle, and that, through whose fault I know not, had miscarried at last; I say, Hamilton and Callender did join too friendly to our prejudice, and that on these terms, beside others, that the Duke should be General, and the Earl his Lieutenant. Both of them to that time had been opposite to the employment of either; and so long as they had any hope of our compliance, both professed a great deal of willingness to continue the old general officers, without any change, and each offered to mar the employment of the other; but when they could not draw our friends to engage in any terms liking them, then peremptorily they struck hands, and went on without much more notice of us.

With threats and promises they moved old Lesly to lay down his place. For a long time we had hopes the army, which we had kept from dissolving, should have been firm to us; but Middleton spoiled that our hope. All the officers had joined in a supplication to the parliament backing the desires of the kirk. Had this been stood to, the designs of others had soon been broken; but Middleton, who long had shifted subscription, at last was willing to join, with an addition of a short postscript, of the subscribers willingness notwithstanding to obey all the parliament's directions. This commentary did so enervate the text, that our friends persuaded the officers to lay aside their petition, as that which was profitable for nothing, being clearly emasculate by the postscript. From that day



we lost the army. David Lesly, by much dealing of many, was made willing to keep his place; yet afterward he repented, and gave it over; and so did Holburn, and divers more of the most gallant of their officers, when they saw the church's advice totally neglected.

These things did grieve much the spirits of many, and I believe few more deeply than my own, so that my health by grief for many days was impaired; yet, by the importunity of many, I was (before fully recovered) drawn back again to Edinburgh. Then I found that matters totally were desperate. Lauderdale with grief, the Treasurer, with many tears, told me how sore against their hearts they went the way they were in, casting the blame on others, who yet assured me, for their parts, that they found never any truth in the fair general offers was made them, when it came to any particular. However, then the dice was cast, every side were engaged to go on in their own way.

The declaration, long and well studied, and penned most by Lanerk, in very plausible terms, was offered to us. We appointed a committee for it. It was my advice to be short in observing, and to pitch but on the main exceptions. On sundry we agreed, and what some offered I got out of their own conceptions; yet being obliged to take physic, I was forced to keep my chamber ten days. In this interval Mr Gillespie, without much contradiction, got in his representation whatever either himself or W. or C. had collected, which made it tediously long, and in sundry things needlessly quarrelsome, and to come so late, that the parliament, after ten days waiting for it, at Lauderdale's canker'd motion, commanded their declaration to go out without any more notice of what we had to say against it.

At this time a messenger went to the parliament of England with five demands, craving an answer peremptorily in fifteen days. That which they feared most was to engage in any treaty. This we ever pressed, but they thought it needless, since they quarrelled not with the parliament, but with the army and their adherents, with whom they were not obliged to treat, and lose the season of the English motions at home. The rumour of our war made a great stir in many parts both of England and Ireland, and put the parliament to alter much of their former way, to  
grant



grant London their militia, the tower the guard of the parliament as before, the freedom of their imprisoned aldermen, the recalling of the eleven members to their places, the restoring the impeached Lords, the making Warwick admiral of the navy : the army also was forced to divide ; Cromwell to Wales, where yet he is ; Fairfax to the north : but in his march he was recalled to suppress the Kentishmen. The most of the shires were on their feet. Had not our unhappy discords marred our expedition ; had we with a small army, with any unanimity, but appeared on the border in time, appearingly, without stroke, we might have got for the King, for our friends, for ourselves, what we pleased ; but our fatal discords were as well known at London as at Edinburgh, so leisure is taken by Fairfax to quiet Kent and Essex, and by Cromwell to hold down Wales, and by others to keep in Cornwall. Lambert in Yorkshire had time to keep back Langdale from York and Lancashire, and great pains are taken to join the Presbyterians and the Independents against all the risers in the shires, and our army, as against malignants. If this conjunction go on, the King and our nation are in a hard taking.

In the mean time the parliament and commission proceed in their paper-differences. Their declaration and our representation are both printed. They go on to act, we to preach against the lawfulness of the engagement as it was stated. The rendezvouses are appointed for the shires against the 21st of May. Many presbyteries, synods, burghs, shires, gave in supplications the 1st of June, to delay the levy till the church got satisfaction. Our poor town, still singular in that unhappiness, is made the first example of suffering. All of us the town-ministers went up to supplicate the Duke in Hamilton, in the name of the presbytery, to delay the lifting of our people till our supplications were answered by the parliament. I spoke oft, and at length, to his Grace and Excellency, as moderator of the presbytery. We got courteous and civil words enough ; but deeds very bitter. Incontinent all our magistrates and town-council, that same night, were summoned to answer to the parliament, for not keeping with their men the rendezvous ; a fault common to them with all their neighbour towns and shires, yea with the whole kingdom well near ; yet they were all cast in the tolbooth,





tolbooth, and kept there divers days; and because they professed scruple of conscience to further the levy, they were all deprived of their places, and a commission sent to the old council that before was removed, to elect new magistrates; who made (with less scruple than I wish to set down and name) Colin Campbell Provost, John Anderson, James Tran, William Neilson, Bailies; and these, for a council, took the old cashiered men with a very little change: so great grief is among the new faction in our town, and too great contentment in the old, to see themselves restored to their places by the same men and means they were cashiered, the parliament putting them in, and others out, only for following the advice of their ministers and commission of the church.

But this is not all our misery. Before this change, some regiments of horse and foot were sent to our town, with orders to quarter on no other but the magistrates, council, session, and their lovers. These orders were exercised with rigor. On the most religious people of our town, huge burdens did fall. On some 10, on some 20, on others 30 soldiers, and more, did quarter; who, beside meat and drink, wine, and good cheer, and whatever they called for, did exact cruelly their daily pay, and much more. In ten days they cost a few honest, but mean people, 40,000 lb. besides plundering of these whom necessity forced to flee from their houses. Our loss and danger was not so great by James Graham.

No relief got we, but a greater mischief. Many yeomen in Clydesdale, upon fear to be levied by force, had fled from their houses to Loudon-hill, and there had met in a body of some hundred horse and foot. Sundry of the soldiers who had left the army, joined with them. Much speech began of a resistance in the west. Too many ministers, both east and west, were said to be for it, if there should appear a likelihood of a party. For myself, I was clear against all such thing: I thought we had neither a just cause nor a good authority for any such matter, and the farthest we might go was no more than suffering. While we are on these debates, Callender and Middleton come west on the Saturday the 10th of June. About a fortnight before Argyle had met with Eglinton and Cassils at Irvine. This meeting gave a show to the talk of a resistance in the west. Fife also seemed to look  
that



that way : but it appears now well, that the named noblemen, whatever they met for, did conclude of no such thing ; for Argyle went presently home to Inverary, and Eglinton declared himself willing to let his men be levied. However Callender made haste to make the west secure. The Clydesdale men came, on the Saturday, to Mauchline to communicate. That night Callender lay at Paisley. On Monday he made a rendezvous at Stewarton, of 1600 good horse, and above 2000 foot, at ten o'clock. From thence he marched to Mauchline, sending Middleton before him with 300 horse.

The noblemen and gentlemen of the shire of Ayr had sat late on the Saturday at a committee in Riccartoun : finding that Pife had yielded, that Argyle was far off and quiet, and Callender with an army in their bosom, they resolved to lay aside all thoughts of resistance, and of this advertised the people at Mauchline. They notwithstanding would not dissolve, but after the sermon in the morning of Monday, some 1200 horse and 800 foot with eight ministers go out to Mauchline muir ; gentlemen or officers very few were among them. While they are about to chuse some, Middleton appears. They expected no enemy in haste, so they are amazed at the sight. The ministers went to Middleton, and capitulated for the safety of all, except the soldiers who had left their colours, whereof were 100 or 200. This written capitulation the ministers did carry to the people, and persuaded to their power their disbanding. The most of the men of Kyle and Cunningham were content to go, but the soldiers and Clydesdale men would needs fight. While they are more than an hour in this confused uncertainty, and sundry crying to fight, Middleton makes a few of his horse to charge ; but the people presently fled. His soldiers abstained from killing, only a taking horse, arms, and purses. A troop of the people fleeing to a bridge, and missing the way, were forced to stand. They turned on the soldiers, and fought very stoutly. Here was the most of the slaughter ; near forty fell : some say as many of the troopers as of the people. Middleton himself was fore put to it by a smith. He got some wounds ; and confesses, had he not stabbed the smith, though not deadly, while he was bringing on him too great a brote, he had undoubtedly killed him. Many of the people were wounded. By the time Callender and the army came up, the  
people



people were disperfed. They fpeak as if the Clydefdale horfe were gone to Galloway, with a mind yet to fight; but I believe it not. There is indeed in our people a great animofity put in them, both by our preaching and difcourfe; alfo by the extreme great oppreffion of the foldiers; fo that it fears me, if Lambert be come to Carlifle with frefh men, and have put Langdale in to the town, as they fay, fo foon as our army fhall be entangled with the Englifh, many of our people rife on their backs. To prevent this, they have paffed a fevere, and, as I think, an unjuft and tyrannous act of parliament, to put all the fubjects of the kingdom to fubfcribe their readinefs with life and eftate, to further the execution of the acts of this parliament, meaning, above all, the act of the levy, which the church has fo much contradicted as unlawful; alfo to declare, that the execution of the acts of this parliament, are the moft neceffary and fitteft means to remeid our troubles, and preferve religion; and that all who fhall not fubfcribe this much, without delay, are juftly to be holden enemies to the common caufe, religion, and country. We think the beft part of the land will never fubfcribe this, and fo that all of us who refufe fhall be at their mercy. If I be put to this fubfcription, as poffibly I may fhortly, I think I may once more come to you, and that to remain longer. A fervice to any of our regiments, or any company of Englifh merchants, will be very welcome to me; which you will be thinking of; for however yet they let minifters alone, and I have as much favour as any other, yet I think our troubles may fo increafe, that I may be glad to be out of Scotland. It feems many of our people may incline to venture their lives, either alone or with the Englifh army, if it come near, againft them who now are employed. I am not for any fuch matter. For fear of feftaries, we have not joined with malignants. If we fhould join with feftaries, it would be to me abominable. We who refolve neither to join with malignants nor feftaries, may fall into great inconveniencies; but the Lord's will be done.

Our approaching general affembly is like to be a dangerous one. The moderator's task will be hard. I am in doubt if I fhall be at his election. The laft time I was near it. I am feared more for it now, I incline by abfence to efchew it. You have here the pofture of our affairs as now they ftand. I think they fhall be much worfe before they



they amend. It is some refreshment to us to look a little abroad. If Melander's death, and the worshipping of the Bavarian army near Aulburg, be true, I will be glad. No prince in the world I wish more to be humbled than that wicked fox of Bavaria. I pity the great and unexpected misfortune of Guise in Naples. What mean your Zealandsers to dissent from the peace with Spain? Dream they that the French would be a better or so good a neighbour? You never wrote to me so rarely as these twelve months. Help this fault.

180. To Mr William Spang. August 23. 1648.

Reverend and Dear Brother,

WHAT is become of you since your journey to Dantzick? I long much to hear, desiring earnestly to know your safe return, and understand how affairs go in these bounds. How things go here since my last, I give you this account. So soon as the motion in the west was crushed, which now I find had proven a very high and dangerous commotion, had Callendar delayed but two or three days to see to it, the Duke with diligence did draw his forces together to the border, both to ease the poor country of their free quarter and grievous oppression, as also to put Lambert from hazarding the regaining of Berwick and Carlisle. The leaguer lay long about Penrith and Appleby before the Irish troops, and foot-regiments from the north, came to him. At last they became a very considerable force; the greatest that went from Scotland since the beginning of these troubles, though far from the number, as I conceive, of 22,000 foot and 8000 horse, which common report made them. Never an army was so great a charge to the country; the foot-soldier for his levy-money, cloaths, and arms, costing generally 100 lb. the horsemen 300 merks, and their free quarter being an unlimited plundering of many very good and pious people. Our state has now found, which scarcely could have been believed, that, contrary to the utmost endeavours of the church, and all their friends, they can raise and maintain an army, and do what they will at home and abroad. The wisdom of some of us has made that practick to pass, and the mystery of our weakness to be divulged much sooner than needed. Always what the





end will be, a little time will try. They are now in Lancashire. Lambert has no force to look upon them. The trained bands of the shires join not with him. Cromwell, with the few he could bring with him from Pembroke castle, having marched mid-way, is forced to return to Wales, where the Lord Biron did raise a party so soon as he had left it. Fairfax is yet at Colchester. It seems the Houses, city, and committee of the shires, have of purpose withdrawn assistance, that Fairfax at Colchester, and Cromwell at Pembroke, should lie till their forces melt away, and become contemptible. If London permit the Prince to lie still in the Downs, and be master of their trade, it cannot but breed great alterations quickly. That the cursed army of sectaries should vanish in smoke, and their friends in the Houses, city, and country, be brought to their well-deserved ruin; that the King and his family should be at last in some nearness to be restored to their dignity and former condition, I am very glad: but my fear is great, that his restitution shall come by these hands, and be so ill prepared, that the glorious reformation we have suffered so much for, shall be much endangered, and the most that shall be obtained be but an Erastian weak Presbytery, with a toleration of Popery and Episcopacy at court, and of divers sects elsewhere. We, who might have been the chief instruments to have stopped this evil, are for the time so far at odds with our state, army, and King, that the despite which all three have at us is like to further much that evil in England, and draw it ere long on Scotland also; but the Lord can easily disappoint our fears. Our state, on pretence to attend the Prince, whom, by my Lord Lauderdale, according to the agreement at the Isle of Wight, they are inviting hither, but really to keep down insurrections of people in the west, are levying 1500 horse more. They suspect deadly, that the dissenters in parliament, with the help of the church, may raise the country, if their army were once deeply engaged or worsted in England. Of this I know no ground; but men who are conscious of occasioning much grief to many, fall in needless fear, and by the means of preventing, draw on their deservings. Our condition for the time is sad: The pestilence in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh also; the continuance of very intemperate rain upon the corns; the irreconcilable differences of church and state, looking towards a very great persecution



persecution of them who have been the best instruments both of church and state, are great signs of the wrath of God; especially the hearts of the body of the people being evidently hardened, and the minds likewise of the ministry diverted from pressing that humiliation and mourning, which the times call for above all things else.

But, leaving the state, our general assembly sat down on Wednesday July 12th. On the Saturday before, I had been tormented with a pain in my tooth, more vehemently than ever with any other pain. This put me from preaching on Sunday, and riding on the Monday. Thus far I was glad that I had a true excuse for my not appearing the first day in the assembly, whence I had resolved, however, to have been absent. Mr Robert Douglas and Mr Robert Blair preached at the fast. The assembly sat till near eight at night choosing their moderator. Every man's addition of three to the moderator's list, albeit an equitable and satisfactory way, yet it proves very longsome. Mr Robert Douglas named for his two, Mr Andrew Cant and Mr George Gillespie; the assembly added Mr David Dickson, Mr Robert Blair, and Mr John Smith. Many named me; but I was well away. Mr Blair was doubtless the meekest man; but because lately he had moderated, he got few votes. Mr Andrew Cant got two; Mr David Dickson none. It went betwixt Mr George Gillespie and Mr Jo. Smith. Mr George did much deprecate the burden; as he had great reason, both for his health's sake, and other great reasons: yet he carried it.

The session on Thursday was spent on the nomination of the committees. In all prior assemblies, some few of us met the night before the assembly in Wariston's chamber, with Argyle, the Chancellor, and some others of our chief and wisest friends, to consider about choosing the moderator, committees, and chief points of the assembly. This preparation was now necessarily omitted to our hurt. Argyle and the Chancellor were both absent in their own houses, to eschew the subscription of the bond of maintenance. Wariston did not appear, not only for that cause, but also lest he should have been pressed to have pleaded against the ministers; for the eight ministers present at Mauchline muir were summoned to answer as raisers of that tumult. Mr William Guthrie, Mr Matthew Mowat, and Mr Thomas Wylie, were dissuaded to appear. Mr Gabriel Maxwell, Mr John Nevo, Mr William Adair,



Mr Alexander Blair, appeared, and under their hand protested, that, directly nor indirectly, they had persuaded the people to meet there that day. When for divers weeks they had been put off from day to day, they were at last dismissed to a new citation. Always the good advocate being resolved in his mind, if he had been put to it, to have pleaded for the ministers, and not against them, was, with much ado, moved by his friends to lurk for some time till the storm went over.

The want of these private preparatory meetings, which the moderator's health permitted him not to attend, did make our assembly needlessly long, and very tedious: for besides that the moderator's way of inquiring at so many before every voice, was not for dispatch, his unacquaintance with the affairs of the committees before they came to the face of the assembly, made the reports unripe and unadvised, and so oft needful, after much debate in the assembly, to be recommitted. The committee of prime importance was that of publick affairs. Upon this the prime men were put; but so mixed, that the far most part were of the most rigid dispositions. When Mr Robert Ramsay, and some others, were moved to be added to the moderator's list of this committee, it was peremptorily refused, upon this pretence, that he was upon another committee. By this means, were got out of that meeting whoever the moderator pleased, and on it whom he would.

For examination of the proceedings of the late commission, Mr John Moncrieff, Mr John Row, and some who had not before been commissioners, were named. Upon the fear, that they who had corrupted the parliament, should have been alike active to have procured commissioners to our assembly conform to their minds, it was carefully provided, that in all presbyteries they should be chosen who were most zealous for the covenant, and for the proceedings of the commission of the kirk, and for the maintenance thereof: so this assembly did consist of such whose minds carried them most against the present engagement, which was the great and only question for the time. The ruling elders were, Cassils, Lothian, Balmerino, Coupar, Torphichen, Kirkcudbright, Angus, Creigh, Moncrieff, Netherpollock, &c. Southesk and Loure were also commissioners; but Loure appeared not, and Southesk finding himself put on a mean committee, appeared



appeared no more. The chief contest betwixt us and the committee of estates, was like to be about the work of this committee for the commission-book. They sent in Glencairn to desire us to delay to approve the proceedings thereof, till they had prepared their considerations against them. The custom of the assembly, according to prior acts, was to examine with the first, acts of the commission of the preceding assembly. The exceptions the state took at their proceedings were such as made their persons incapable to voice in the assembly till they were cleared. Now the men were a great and chief part of this assembly; also the matter in question, the engagement, was of a great concernment, and had for many months been in agitation betwixt the church and state; so that long time needed not to set down any thing concerning it. So soon, therefore, as the report of that committee was ready, it was thought meet, without longer delay than a night or two, to receive and vote it. All without a contrary vote was approved. This angered our statesmen, and made them see, that all hope to make the assembly divert from the way of the former commission, was desperate.

The first ten or twelve days we had but one session in the day, the afternoon being given to the committees to prepare work for the assembly. In our committee for publick affairs, at our first meeting, I found more work cut out, and put in other hands, than I well liked. I agreed we should go on as far as the commission of the church had done against the engagement; but I wished no farther progress; yet it was proposed, and carried, to make a new publick declaration against it; yea, to have a declaration to England for the same effect. The drawing of these was committed to a subcommittee of six, whereof I was glad to be none; but I was not content, when, to Mess. David Calderwood, Robert Ker, John Smith, were joined Mess. James Guthrie, John Livingston, John Maclelland, Robert Blair, and David Dickson, who were afterwards added; and I was required to be added, but peremptorily refused; for my mind was not very forward for the writs they were to draw.

Friday and Saturday were spent on trying the commissions. Those of the presbyteries of Dunfermline and Chirnside were rejected; the one had chosen Mr Samuel Douglas moderator, the same day that a complaint of him had come to them from the commission of the church,

for





for his never appearing there but once, and that to dissent from the church's declaration against the engagement. The other presbytery's commission was rejected, because they had put in a ruling elder, who had entered a written protestation in the presbytery against the causes of the late fast, relating to the late engagement. The disaffection of these two presbyteries was much spoken of; therefore it was thought fit to appoint a visitation, consisting of the most zealous brethren of Edinburgh, Lothian, and the Merse, to cognosce and censure their carriage as they found cause. The like course was taken with the presbyteries of Stirling and Dunkeld. They had not been exact enough in trying the alledged malignancy of one of their number. This occasioned a visitation of them likewise. Mr. Harry Guthrie, a very bold man, but in this and the late assemblies very quiet, gave in a petition against this course; but rather than to make din in vain, took it up again. In our committee we had, these days, some reasonings about the commissions from boroughs: none of us were much for the thing, but all for tolerating of them, for fear of offending the boroughs at this time; only the commission of Edinburgh was thought to be wrong; but none offered themselves for that town. The discord betwixt their magistrates and ministers was much more than I desired to see. Their spleen against one or two of their ministers was great. The wilfulness of some rash men to have Sir John Smith out of his place has cost us dear. Since they have got the magistracy of that town, who, to their power, have carried all things there to the mind of those whom we little affected, one of their great cares has been, to keep their kirks rather vacant, than to plant them with any whom they liked not. In chusing of ministers and commissioners they took a new way. Their commissioners for the assembly they named in their town-council; also, as patrons, they elected their ministers there. They were content to propound the men elected, to the session of that church where they were to serve, but to no other. Much debate there was with them in a committee appointed for that end; but the result was, that the commissioners elected in their council should have the consent of their great session, which is their six sessions joined; also the ministers whom, as patrons, they name in the council, shall have the consent of the six sessions before they be presented to the presbytery; and in regard of



of their neglect to supply their vacant places, now of a long time, the assembly did vote fix, whom they recommended to the great session to chuse four of them, and to obtain their orderly transportations from the commission of the church. The men were, Mess. John Maclellan, George Hucheson, Hugh Mackell, James Fergusson, James Naesmith, and Robert Trail. All this has added to the town of Edinburgh's offence, and is thought will not further the plantation of their vacant places. One of the assembly's committees I have ever been against, tho' yet without fruit. The city of Edinburgh is supplied with the ablest men of the kingdom; their chief service should be in assembly-time. The custom ever has been, that so long as the assembly sits, all these men are idle, and all their kirks must be provided by members of the assembly. This makes many weak and ill-accommodated country-preachers fill these eminent places, at most considerable times. This made the pulpis of Edinburgh be provided for on the Sundays, and week thereafter, worse than needed.

On Monday always we have the forenoon free, because many go out on the Sunday to the churches about. That time I spent in a meeting with the universities, and got them to meet twice or thrice more, where we debated, and concluded the most part of the overtures, whereof you have here a doable. I intreat you read the preface of Burges's Dick to his Logicks. I find, that twenty years ago, the professors of Leyden, with the consent of the synods of Holland, have agreed on a course, to be taught both in grammar-schools and colleges, which the magistrate has commanded to be every where but one. I pray you try at Apollonius, or the schoolmaster of Middleburg, or some other, if it be so, and what that course is, which you will set down, and send over here to me in your first letter.

The three or four next sessions were spent much of them in votes and debates upon papers betwixt us and the states.

Glencairn and others presented to us a petition from the Duke and the army for ministers, which they seconded. Likewise they offered all the security for religion they were able: and for removing the present differences, they required a conference with us. To all these they required a present answer; at least before we pass on the trial, in  
order



order to the approbation of the commission's book, against which they professed they had divers new exceptions. To all these we gave answers in writ. The proceedings of the commission were unanimously approved; a conference was appointed; eight ministers named, and some elders; the army's letter was referred to our committee. The state neglected the conference, since we had approved the proceedings of the commission, and had resolved, that no security to religion was possible so long as the engagement did stand; only they met once for a fashion, and gave in a paper, craving scripture from us for the unlawfulness of the engagement, and our meddling with matters of war and peace. This paper was referred to our committee. In an afternoon some few of us met, and set down our scriptural grounds for both these points; but thought fit to put them in the declaration rather than in a several paper.

Mr R. Blair and Mr J. Smith were willing to draw the declaration, lest it should fall in Mr James Guthrie's brisk hand. I obtested Mr Blair, that he would be careful of two things; one, to be full against the sectaries; another, to beware that his draught carried any thing which, directly or indirectly, might carry us to a resistance of the state. I knew, that the most of the leading men thought a resistance by arms to the ways in hand lawful enough, if the dissenters in parliament, or any considerable part of the kingdom, had courage and probable force to act; but it was my greatest care, that nothing might bear any such thing; and this I obtained to my great contentment. There were two points somewhat akin to this that I obtained also, but with much difficulty. Sundry at divers times moved to have it determined, if it was lawful to pay any monthly maintenance, since avowedly it was pressed for the use of the army, which was unlawful. I avowed the lawfulness of it, as of a tribute agreed upon by the state before this army was in being; and that Cæsar in conscience must have his tribute, let him employ it to what uses he thinks fit. Also, if this were refused, the excise, the portion of annualrents, and all other dues, which were employed for the service of the army, behoved to be denied; which could not but make the state to take it by force, and the people to fight against their spoilers. At last we agreed to lay the question aside. It was likewise much pressed, that such as had been active for the en-

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gagement



gagement should be kept from the holy table; and, as I did think, the design of some was to have our statesmen put under church-censures for their diligence in this engagement. My mind in this you have in a paper here by itself. I got it, by much speech and private dealing, carried according to my mind. But other things were carried over my head. It was moved, for the farther clearing of the wickedness of the war, to make a collection from the commissioners of all the presbyteries of the chief insolencies committed by the soldiers before they went from among us, and to put these in our declaration. I was willing they should be collected to be complained of both to church and state, and censured by both so severely as possible; but was averse to have them registered, for the infamy of the very nation, into our publick declaration. In this I was not heard. Also, when it was pressed that ministers silent, who did not preach against the engagement, should for this be deposed, I wished, if men were modest, and otherwise offended not, that this fault might carry no more but a rebuke; but not only it was made deposition, but, by the motion of two or three men at most, it was carried against my mind, and of divers others, that the prior acts against deposed ministers for malignancy should be made more strict: 1. That none of them should be ever admitted to any church whence a man for malignancy was deposed; but also, that they should be kept from preaching till a general assembly did find them fit for a church; also, if after their deposition they meddled with any part of the stipend or glebe, it should be excommunication to them. It was pressed by some, that the not paying of the stipend to the next intrant, should be excommunication to the patrons or tenants, who, upon the act of parliament, paid it to him who was deposed for adhering to the state. This was hardly got avoided. It was against the minds of sundry to make a declaration to England at all; but this believed to be. I was feared for Mr James Guthrie his hand, and so I found I had reason. His draught was wanting of that which I thought was the chief thing it became us to say to them, if so we said any thing, a sharp complaint against the sectarian army, and the parliament's negligence to perform their part of the covenant, which had brought on us all our present troubles: also it had some dangerous expressions, which I thought imported the rock I desired to e-





vite, calling our state, "a faction; yea, the mixed multitude that came out of Egypt; but the dissenters from the engagement, the nation, and the Israel of God." With very much ado I got these helped, some in the committee, and others in the face of the assembly.

I found the bent sail of the spirits of some so much on the engagement, that all things else were like to be neglected; therefore I pressed, that the doctrinals, as most proper for us, which the last general assembly had recommended to all the presbyteries, might be taken into consideration. I got in the Catechism, but no more. We passed this, both the Larger and the Shorter, as a part of uniformity; but we thought the Shorter too long, and too high for our common people and children, and so put it in Mr David Dickson's hands, to draw it shorter and clearer. Of this he was careful, and presented us with a draught before the end of the assembly, which truly was very good and exact; but yet so high and long, that it was recommitted to Mr John Livingstone, who purposed to remit it to the ministry of Edinburgh.

We had three things more of great concernment to have passed, and might easily have concluded them all, had not our time been worse spent, the Directory of government, the Theorems against Erastians, and the Psalms. The first, a very excellent and profitable piece, the fourth part of our uniformity, was thrust by through the pertinacious opposition of Mr David Calderwood, and two or three with him. Four or five things we all agreed unto, except in that writ from our consent; but that which grieved Mr David was the matter of church-sessions, which he maintains to have no divine right in particular, but to be only as a committee from the presbytery, to execute those acts of jurisdiction which the presbytery thinks fit to commit thereto. Lest, in the end of the assembly, when many were gone, we should come to so grave a debate, or rather, lest at a time of our so great strife with the state, we should fall a jarring among ourselves, it was thought best to refer the whole writ to the next assembly. Upon the same grounds, the Theorems were also remitted. The Psalms were often revised, and sent to presbyteries. Had it not been for some who had more regard than needed to Mr Zachary Boyd's Printer, I think they had passed through in the end of the assembly; but these also, with almost all the



the references from the former assemblies, were remitted to the next.

One session was spent in encouraging Mr David Calderwood to perfect his Church-history, and to consider Mr Andrew Ker for his good and great service to them. Both got a testimony of our favour, 800 lb. yearly for Mr David Calderwood, and 1000 lb. to Mr Andrew Ker, with a gratuity of 5000 merks for bygoners, were appointed by the assembly to be paid to them out of the church's L. 500 Sterling pension; but we cannot, for any request, get one penny paid by the Treasurer, and have little hopes to get any more in haste.

Much speech we had of a story of the late troubles. In every province some were named to gather materials to be sent in to Mr John Smith. The publick papers, in writ or print, were desired to be all put together; but I expect no good from all these motions. If you would go on with your history, I should be very glad of it.

We were troubled with the opening of the mouths of deposed ministers. Poor Mr Patrick Hamilton, in the very nick when the assembly was to grant all his desires, was rejected by his own unhappiness. He had let fall out of his pocket a poem too invective against the church's proceedings. This, by mere accident, had come into the hands of Mr Mungo Law, who gave it to Mr James Guthrie, who read it in the face of the assembly, to Mr Patrick's confusion. Also when the assembly was to have at last, after three or four year's refusal, shewn favour to your old colleague Mr James Row, Mr Patrick Gillespie, and his own cousins, did so far mar him, upon tacit surmises, as, I suspect of small importance, that it is like he shall never be permitted to preach; yet honest John Gillon got permission to preach, and for this I confess I was forward; for the man, though he want letters, is very pious and well-gifted, and strong against all sectaries. The preparative is not dangerous, for I believe few in an age will fall to be in his case; and if many should, I would grant them the like favour, though some misinterpret it.

The assembly spent divers sessions, for small purpose, upon transportations. These I love daily worse. The most are evidently packed businesses, little for the credit either for the transporters or transported. Mr John Livingston, refused to Glasgow, and designed for Ireland



by the late assembly, though earnestly suited by my Lord of Airds, and much stuck to by my Lord Caillils, who, for his respect, had made a constant stipend for his church, most out of his own rent, though his parishioners had not been cited, yet was, at my Lord Lothian's suit, transported to Ancrum, where the benefice was great, and the way to Edinburgh short. D. Colvill, called by Edinburgh to the divinity profession, so willing to come as it became a wife and modest man, his colleagues willing to dismiss him; yet the private respects of a very few, made him to be fixed to his station, which I regretted. Mr George Hutcheson, orderly appointed by his presbytery to go to Ayr, yet he liking better to go to Burntisland or Edinburgh, than to join with Mr William Adair, and Mr William absenting himself when the action came in, was appointed to abide in his place.

I think the disorder of transportations will not be got helped, till some honest men peremptorily refuse to obey, which, I think, at last, some will do; especially since the falling of so many places is referred to the commission of the kirk, with a power almost arbitrary, to neglect all the rules before appointed by general assemblies for transportations. We were fashed with Patrick Lesly of Aberdeen. His intemperate zeal for the levy had made him overhale. Mr Andrew Cant gave in a foul libel against him. He gave in another against the ministers. It cost a committee very much diligence to get this matter accommodated; for it was manifest that Mr Andrew Cant could hardly live in Aberdeen, if this man were enraged; so for the ministers cause he was much spared, and that matter packed up as it might be. Some men are born, if not to raise, yet continually to live in a fire. We had some debate in our committee about conventicles. Some of them we had heard of in Edinburgh, in the characters of sectaries. Mr Robert Knox got them in to my great contentment; for I found some too sparing of them; and yet I fear how far in their own time they may extend their duty of mutual edification. The whole two weeks following were spent on these things. The most were fashed for the moderator's want of dispatch, and too much sticking willfully to his own sense.

Mr Robert Blair in the most, Mr Robert Ramsay in all, was of my mind. Mr Robert Douglas disliked some mens carriage. The assembly of divines wrote to us a  
general



general letter. To this, Mr R. Blair's answer was good and uncontroverted. The subscribing of the bond was much against all our minds; but an act was drawn up against it in my absence, which I much disliked; for it carried censure against the pressers of it. This directly aimed at our statesmen, the contrivers of it; but, in the face of the assembly, I got it to be expounded only *ad futura*. Some of my neighbours before the assembly were so far in love with this subscription, that I was forced to write to them arguments against it, as you may see herewith. Though in some parts of the country the subscription go on, yet in the chief and most parts it is not required of any. —

— Our assembly drove on to the end of the fifth week. Many, dwelling far off and superexpended, slid away. I suspected the moderator drew long of purpose, waiting for a letter from the parliament of England, which came not. We hear now the House of Commons pass a declaration to us; but the Lords consented not to it. I did not love to have any correspondence with them now, but others loved it too well. Another motion in our committee I loved not, a letter to be written to the King. It was fathered on Mr James Hamilton; and the drawing of it put on him, though no commissioner. I knew there would be a heavier load laid by us on his Majesty than was expedient to be meddled with; also that we should not express such a sense of his unjust sufferings as the world would expect; and so I was earnest to let all alone; but the moderator carried it: and though the draught of that letter came never to our committee, but at the first was taken in to the assembly, and some hours spent in the moderator's publick correcting of it, yet the thing behoved to pass, and the wording of it to go to the commission. Many good overtures against the sins of the times did likewise pass. One of them I was feared for. It was, first, that all ministers conversing with malignants should be censured by presbyteries. This would have snared many; for the notion of the malignants now by the engagement, is extended to very many. I got it some way qualified, but not as it will be found needful.

That which some days in the end of the assembly troubled us, was, Mr Andrew Ramsay and Mr William Colvil's process. Mr Andrew had, in preaching, often fallen out in divers impertinencies, and contradiction to his brethren: he had been oft admonished; but the man's weakness





weakness and age, and divers who resorted to him, permitted him not much to amend. Not only he had spoken for the engagement; but in prejudice of our proceedings, and Presbyterian government itself. Much he denied; much was proven. He untimeously had fallen on an unhappy question, The magistrates power to remit blood. The general theses which he professed to maintain, "That the supreme magistrate, when the safety of the commonwealth does require, may dispense with the execution of justice against shedders of blood," many of us declined to meddle with; but the moderator gladly would have had the assembly determining the negative expressly, which was eschewed; only the man for his doctrine and carriage was suspended till the next assembly. Mr William Colvill was referred to us only for his silence about the engagement. The man was generally too busy to countenance and encourage our statemen in their way, and the chief mover of Mr Ramsay to his court; however, he himself walked very cannily. I was indeed offended at his malapert carriage in the commission of the church, and for it, albeit it was not libelled, I consented to his suspension; but it was against my mind that Dr Baron should have been censured for mere silence; yet it was carried.

One or two of your friends in our presbytery had been, for their silence and ambiguity about the engagement, referred to the assembly, had I not diverted and got that evil kept off them; for had they come before us, possibly they had never come off.

We appointed visitations for universities and hospitals, and put on them the sharpest men we had. Likely Edinburgh will not submit to have either universities or hospitals visited, though they have most need; and I pressed their visitation before any other; since, as yet, they have ever declined it.

The commissioners for uniformity with England were continued without change; only Lauderdale, to my grief, was justly omitted. I was scarce resolved to have seen him; yet my Lady Wariston sent me to him, as trusting in his friendship for her husband's business. He told me, that, however, to his best knowledge, there was no design either on his place or person for the time; yet that he could not answer for what might be shortly, especially when in debate and discourse these things might escape him.



him which might irritate them. The good Wariston, lest by his enemies he might be brought in by violence, thought meet to retire to Kintyre, where, for the present, he passes his time with Argyle. Lauderdale continues kind to me, and regrets much the difference betwixt us; fears it become a fountain of great evils, either the overthrow of the design for the King against the sectaries, or the putting up of the malignant party so high, that they will hardly be got ruled; at best the making of the government of the church, as we exercise it, to be abhorred by all in England and abroad, and intolerable to our own state at home. I find the Treasurer in the same mind; but both of them fast enough, for ought I can see, to our covenant and persons, except to one or two whom they esteem the prime causes of this difference. In Mr William Colvill's censure, Mr David Calderwood rashly had said, "he was the painfullest minister of Edinburgh." This the moderator exaggerated so far, as some spoke of his removal for censure. The moderator before had taken him up for his impertinencies indeed; yet too roughly, and more, as I thought, than became. After this encounter, Mr David went home, and came no more to the assembly. At this I grieved; it may do harm.

The state, on the Friday before we rose, gave in a large paper of observations on our declaration. I take them to be Primrose their clerk's draught. We appointed the commission to sit and answer them. They are but poor ones. That same day we renewed the commission of the church. There is too great a change of the persons, and too great addition of men who never have been members of any assembly; also their power is too much enlarged, even to process all who oppose their orders, as well as of the general assembly. I find divers in the mind, that if once our army in England had got any sensible success, our state are resolved totally to suppress the commission of the church, as a judicatory not yet established by law; and it is feared they will trouble the persons of some of us: but the Lord's will be done. I think indeed the carriage of some is too high and peremptory; but if the state begin to trouble any of us with imprisonment, it will be a great ill of long and dangerous consequence.

On Saturday August 12. we arose. In the morning I went away, desirous, after much toil, to be at home that night, unwilling to wait on the commission, to jangle  
more



more with the moderator. I was glad we had all ended in peace. The matter of this unhappy engagement I hope will not last, and so the ground of our difference with the state shall be removed. But new grounds of division may possibly arise, which may make our contentions greater. Thus much I have written to you, to oblige you to write oftener and larger; so much the more as our intercourse with London is stopt, and we know not what is doing either there or abroad. What you learn weekly by your gazettes, I pray, once in the month at least, let us have its sum, as you shall have occasion to send it. So I rest, your cousin, to serve you.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

The consequences of the engagement were fatal. The army was totally routed in Lancashire by Cromwell, the Duke taken prisoner, carried to London, and there executed.

181. *Mr William Spang to Mr Robert Baillie.*

Reverend Cousin,

SINCE my last, the first letter I have seen of yours was of the 4th of December, very concise, and most of it in complaint of my long silence; of which you should have had no reason, if those to whom I intrusted my letters to you have been honest. I never let any occasion slip with which I have not written, and that at large. I am afraid lest the freedom I have used in them may beget trouble to me, if they have fallen into any envious hand; and then what I wrote was but a rehearsal of the judgement, which the godly and wise, who ever affected our cause, did profess to me both by word and letters. Most of my letters to you were inclosed in packets to Mr George Gillespie, of whose death, to my great grief, I have lately heard. Certainly he was as able a man as our kirk had; of a clear judgement. That which some disliked, would easily have been bettered by experience and years. I see he has had a better opinion of these sectaries than he would have had, if he had lived till now, and had heard their vile perjured treacheries against all bonds; also for that reproach cast upon our religion, and the truth of God, by these mens unparalleled proceedings, and for the present danger of religion



religion in all the three kingdoms; yea, and the civil liberties of all who will not run to the same excess of madness with them.

Let Scotland chuse what side they please, that poor land will be the seat of war, by all appearance, this summer; for a considerable army is marching northward against you; and Cromwell assures his brethren in evil, of a more easy conquest of that kingdom than all the English kings ever had. His ground is, as I have heard from one who is of their council, that the bitterness betwixt those who were for the last engagement in England, and those who were against it, is so great, that there are no means left to reconcile parties, and he is able to crush those who have authority now in their hands, if they be alone; so that our domestic divisions are the chief stay of that party, and which will make us to fall into their hands as a conquest, or hinder us from being able to do any thing to purpose. They encourage themselves in these their hopes, by an alledged dissent entered in by some of the most eminent of our nobility against the proclaiming of our new king, which, though it be most false, yet it is enough to slander these noblemen; and because their authority is so great in our kingdom, to make many suspect it runs not so smooth and fair as is given out by us; so much the more, since no publick declaration is emitted by our clergy, to vindicate themselves from having given a precedent which these perjured Independents have followed.

I am sure it has been a matter of inconceivable grief to you all, when you heard of that bloody murdering of the late king; and it is reason, that following the example of the zealous preachers in London, you testify your utter abhorring of it, that there may be an extant testimony to the world of the loyalty of your hearts, whereby the foul mouths of Papists and malignants may be stopt, as Jacob did, Gen. xlix. 6.; and David, 2 Sam. iii. 35. 36. 37. All the ministers in this province do publickly declare their utter abhorring of it, and many have chosen select texts for that purpose, and ever with that tender respect to our country and their proceedings, as was matter of joy for us to hear, now you have proclaimed the Prince to be King; and blessed be God who hath put it in your hearts so to do. This makes your names like a fragrant smell; and if you be put to any hazard for the maintainance of that action, if you will manage your credit well abroad, ye will find real friends. But, first of all, I wish care were taken to ce-





ment at home with you, and for that purpose remit of that rigor, in the which, if you continue, no man sees how ye can subsist; for, be assured, the party that now is under, will rake hell to vindicate themselves, and put you to that necessity, that you must join your forces with these murderers, and bring them again into the bowels of our kingdom, yea, and to be subservient to them, and to recal what has been done with such absolute agreements. It were to be wished that men of all sides would now learn to deny themselves, if they would approve their former professions for religion, king, and country.

There is arrived at Rotterdam some commissioners from Scotland to the Prince, upon the 2d of March, N. S. amongst whom their is one Sir Joseph Douglas, who intreated Mr Alexander Petrie to write to me in all haste, that I should come thither, or to the Hague unto him; for what errand I know not; yet I mind to-morrow, God willing, to go thither, so much the more, because I hear my Lord Chancellor is upon his way thither in a ship, where, if I can serve them for any use, I shall not be failing.

The good God comfort and direct you in the right way, that ye may enjoy the fruit of your labours in peace. If the King will not take the covenant, and separate himself from the councils of those who have driven his father to that misery, I foresee he and us all shall be miserable. Let our eyes be towards God; he rules all. To his mercy ye are recommended by your cousin,

ANDERSON.

*At my dwelling-place, 7th March 1649.*

182. *Mr Robert Baillie to Mr Spang. Edinburgh, February 7. 1649.*

Cousin,

Your bygone letter of the 12th I received, and thank you for it. You complain of my long silence; but give no satisfaction for your longer. In my next I shall give you contentment about all your inquiry. This is upon a particular and great occasion. One act of our lamentable tragedy being ended, we are entering again upon the scene. O! if it might be the Lord's pleasure to perform more happy and comfortable actions than have appeared these years bygone. To the great joy of all, in the midst of a very great and universal sorrow, we proclaimed, on Monday



day last, the Prince, King of Britain, France, and Ireland. We have sent the bearer, a worthy gentleman, to signify so much to his Majesty at the Hague. We purpose speedily to send an honourable commission from all estates. The dangers and difficulties wherewith both his Majesty and all his kingdoms at this time are involved, are exceeding great and many. The first necessary and prime one (as all here, without exception, conceive) doth put his Majesty and his people both in a hopeful proceeding; and his Majesty's joining with us in the national covenant, subscribed by his grandfather K. James, and the solemn league and covenant, wherein all the well-affected of the three kingdoms are entered, and must live and die in, upon all hazards. If his Majesty may be moved to join with us in this one point, he will have all Scotland ready to sacrifice their lives for his service. If he refuse, or shift this duty, his best and most useful friends, both here and elsewhere, will be cast into inextricable labyrinths, we fear, for the ruin of us all. We know Satan will not be wanting to stir up ill instruments to keep him off from a timeous yielding to this our most earnest and necessary desire; but as it is, and will be, one of all Scotland's strong petitions to God, to dispose his heart to do his duty without delay; so we will acknowledge ourselves much obliged to any, whom the Lord may honour to be the happy instruments of his persuasion. Many here remember, and are sensible of your great and happy labours, for the clearing of our proceedings, from the very first commotions among us. We trust you will not refuse to be at any needful pains, at this so hard a time, for the service of God, your King, and country, and all the churches here, in their great distress. I wish you made a voyage to the Hague, and dealt with our good friends, Dr Rivet and Dr Spanheim, to insinuate to the King their wholesome advices. Some, as Vossius, Apollonius, and others there, understand so much of our proceedings, that a small desire from any interests would move them to contribute their best helps for his Majesty's information.

I recommend it therefore most earnestly to you, to bestir yourself in a private clancular way to further this work. If your, or any other mens labours be blessed of God to work the present, you will find all here (I shall answer for it) ready to acknowledge, as becomes your pains, by such testimonies, in due time, as shall give you satisfaction.



What you do must be done quickly; for every hour's delay prejudgeth (we know not how much) his Majesty and all his dominions.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

183. *Mr Spang to Mr Baillie.*

*Tibi soli.*

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

AFTER the closing of my last letter, which goes along with the same bearer, my Lord Conservator, I received a letter from Mr Alexander Petrie, requiring me in all haste to come to the Hague, and that in the name of Sir Joseph Douglas, a commissioner then arrived from Scotland with letters to the King's Majesty; but about what errand he did not write, neither would he. Though the weather is very unseasonable and stormy, and my health not the best, as usually it falls out with me in March, yet I chused rather to run these hazards, than to be wanting to that gentleman's desires. When I came to the Hague, I inquired for him, and asking, what was the errand for which he had sent for me? he told me, he had brought over letters from the commissioners of the kirk, and delivered them to Mr Alexander Petrie to be sent to me. So I sent an express to Rotterdam for these letters, which, when they came to my hand, I found them a packet from you of the 7th of February. Ye desire me to hasten to the Hague, and deal with such who are like to have credit with the King's Majesty, for persuading him to do what you require of him, viz. to join with Scotland in both the covenants. The persons whom you designed were either absent out of Holland, as Dr Rivet, Apollonius, or such who are not of credit with courtiers, or such who are known to make use only of the court-favour for their private ends; and therefore I did bethink myself of another mean to effectuate that end, which was, by addressing myself to the Prince of Orange his Highness. For this purpose, I took pains to inform myself, the best I could, of the present posture of counsels suggested to the King's Majesty, and the reasons for them; and I found, that all these designed by our late Sovereign to be his four counsellors



fellors while he was Prince of Wales, viz. Cottington, Andover, Culpepper, and Hyde, advised he should go directly for Ireland. This did James Graham urge also with great vehemency; and if that would not prevail, others were of advice, that the King was to come to Scotland *armata manu*, because no truit could be given to such who were leading men in our parliament; partly, because they thought there was reason to suspect the sincerity and reality of some who used such a fair invitation only to get the King in their power, whose advancement they thought never more to procure than they did his father's; partly, because they thought, that though these who invite him do really intend, yet they are not able to maintain him against the English usurpers, if they do not recal their late acts against such who have had a hand in the engagement, and join all their powers together. But this, say they, they will never do, and so they shall not be able to protect the King; but being straitened by the English, will be content to buy their peace with quitting the King. And here, to make this probable, pregnant instances are brought in of my Lord Chancellor's papers against the delivery of the King to the parliament, pressed by unanswerable reasons, which yet were neglected altogether, by delivery of the King within few months after. The other instance was, of the treating of our commissioners with the late King at the Isle of Wight, and our not performing our promise accordingly. But there is a third party, who, though they be not of the King's council, yet, out of love to him and their country, rejected the two former projects as bloody, to the utter ruining the King and all Protestants; and did by all means labour to persuade his Majesty to go to Scotland, upon the very same terms they did require; that if he did not go, and that hastily, with a resolution to seal the covenants, he would alienate the hearts of all the Protestants in all his kingdoms from him: and this was pressed by the Earls of Lauderdale, Callendar, and Lanerk, with such evident self-denial of their own interests, as being grievously censured by this present parliament, that had the King been left to himself, it was thought he could not but follow their advice. This honourable carriage of these three noblemen I can bear witness unto, as having heard them protest it in private, and understand it from others also, who are our enemies, and do curse the hour they have been cast here to spoil the





the game they thought sure. Believe me, I do acknowledge the good providence of God in casting them here at this time. They have done more good than if they had been sitting in parliament.

My next was, to find out whereto the Prince of Orange was inclined. For this purpose, I went to two of the States Generals, of whose intimacy with the Prince's councils all men did speak. I found them not only clear in their own judgement for the King's going to Scotland, and embracing the covenant, but that this also was the Prince's mind. From them I went to sundry others; but from none did I get surer information than from the Lord Beverweert, Governor of Bergen-op-zoom, natural son to Prince Maurice, a nobleman truly pious, and of a publick spirit, resolute to employ his credit for religion, and of high account with the Prince, in whose councils he has chief influence.

Now having found whereto the Prince inclined, my next thoughts were to understand so much out of his own mouth, and to confirm in him what good resolution I should find in him; especially to remove some scruples and objections, wherewith many told me he was daily assaulted. For this end, a countryman of ours promised to bring me to the Prince; but performed it not, or at least would have me to wait so long upon it, that I should be made to think it some great favour; for this court-policy I learned, which made me resolved to go in my old way, and by the mediation of one of his Highness's counsellors, I was brought in to him, and had the freedom of a long hour's speech, where I found God's assistance and blessing; his assistance, in enabling me both with words and matter, for it was in Dutch; and his blessing, in making the Prince so attentive to what I said, so desirous to know the true grounds of things, so apprehensive, and so fully resolved with us for his Majesty's going to Scotland upon the conditions proposed. I shall give you a short and compendious account of what passed then.

After I had thanked his Highness for his favour in granting me so ready audience, and desired to know if I might, with his good liking, propound what I intended in Latin or English, rather than Dutch, he desired me to do it in Dutch. Then I first condoled the parricide of our late King his father; "shewed how it was abhorred by  
" the estates of our kingdom; how, contrary to our co-  
" venant,



“ venant, the end of which, among other things, was the  
 “ safety of the King’s person ; how not only the state had  
 “ proclaimed his son to be their King, but the ministry  
 “ in the kingdom also, according to their places, had  
 “ done their duty, and had given assurance of their loyal  
 “ affection to our present King, by their letters to him,  
 “ and by their care that he may be persuaded to shun the  
 “ wicked counsels which drove his late father to such  
 “ counsellors ; that they had given me orders to deal with  
 “ all who could contribute any thing to the advancement  
 “ of this good work ; and that I could look upon none from  
 “ whom I had reason to expect more good than his High-  
 “ nefs, who, by being instrumental therein, would gain  
 “ greater honour than by gaining of towns,” &c.

He answered, “ That there was nothing more accepta-  
 “ ble to him than that he was looked upon as one who  
 “ would employ himself for the advancement of religion,  
 “ and that now, if ever, the reformed religion was in  
 “ danger ; that there were no probable means to prevent  
 “ the utter extirpation of it, but by espousing the young  
 “ King’s quarrel ; and that he, for his part, could not  
 “ but pity the young King, torn as it were betwixt such  
 “ contrary counsels ; that the reasons produced by all par-  
 “ ties seemed to be specious, yet how fair soever men did  
 “ shew, he thought it madness for a Protestant to chuse  
 “ rather to trust to a Papist, than a Protestant who mind-  
 “ ed truly.” “ And if ever,” said I, “ any state minded  
 “ truly, it is our present state ; their hastiness in proclaim-  
 “ ing, that chearfulness of all joining together, do witness  
 “ this ; and now their readiness to espouse the King’s  
 “ cause, if he first will espouse God’s cause, though they  
 “ know any undertakings of this kind to be joined with  
 “ great dangers.” But what,” said he, “ may be expect-  
 “ ed of the ministers ?” And here he spoke much of  
 the great influence their advice has on the estates. To  
 this I answered, “ That whatsoever any Prince can expect  
 “ of good subjects, that may our King look for at the  
 “ hands of the ministers, if he employ his power for the  
 “ honouring of God ; and that all the power they have  
 “ in the hearts of the people will be for the King’s advan-  
 “ tage.” Here he spoke something of the great precise-  
 ness of our ministers, who would not be content with that  
 about religion which our late King had granted, and  
 wherewith the parliament of England was well high satisfi-  
 fied.



sied. Here I was ready to have answered; but he passed this, and spoke of the conditions we require of the King, viz. his accepting and entering into the covenants. And I, at his desire, having explained what these covenants were, and how distinguishable, "Then," said he, "he will be easily brought to subscribe this covenant which concerns Scotland alone;" (he meant our national covenant); "but the other covenant betwixt Scotland and England, he feared should find greater difficulty: 1. Because all the King's counsellors, viz. these four English, would be against it: 2. Because it required a delivery up to justice those who are called malignants: 3. Because, as by subscribing it the King would please us, so he would displease the Papists in Ireland, and all foreign Popish princes, who will not be so foolish as to favour him, whose advancement is the ruin of their religion in his dominions. Other reasons," says he, "are urged, and I shall propose them ere ye go." So I began to answer; and, first, "I shewed, that the first covenant of Scotland only provides as great security for religion as the second doth; and therefore the King's counsellors, who advise him to subscribe the one, and not the other, for fear of displeasing the Papists, speak they know not what; for there is not a Papist who is not more displeased with the first than with the second." And he asking, "Why are the King's counsellors so much against it?" I answered, "That they durst not do otherwise than dissuade our young King from the solemn league, since they had ever dissuaded his father from it. If they would now change, the young King, and your Highness, who are so greatly interested, should have reason to look upon them as men whose consciences did condemn them for abusing the father." Here I took occasion to represent to his Highness, "the great inconvenience of the abode of such counsellors about the King's person; that if a course was not taken to banish them from his presence, they would readily prove as unhappy instruments to the son as they have been to the father; and that they, or any who advise the King to slight the preservation of Scotland, and to go to Ireland, chusing rather he should not reign than that they should not reign with him; men of whose religion the world, to this hour, was never satisfied." So far as I could mark, his Highness



seemed not to be displeased with this. "As for the King  
 "delivering up of all malignants to justice," I answered,  
 "the covenants do not require that all malignants should  
 "be punished, but only tried, and left to the judgement  
 "of the parliament." "But," says he, "ye call any man  
 "a malignant whom ye please, though he profess he ad-  
 "heres to the covenant, and all his aims are for the ends  
 "of it." Here he brought in, for instance, the acts of  
 our present parliament, declaring all who had any hand  
 for the engagement incapable of any place of trust during  
 their whole lives; "and yet," says he, "the world did  
 "read their declaration, which spake very fair, and the  
 "parliament did own that work: I would therefore glad-  
 "ly know who are the malignants; for I find, that there  
 "is no argument that so works upon his Majesty as that." Here I profess I was at a strait. For to have given him  
 such a character of a malignant as the commissioners of  
 the general assembly did give some two years since, that  
 would not have served the turn, the case being now alto-  
 gether altered, is so far, that he is to be thought more a  
 malignant who approveth the bloody acts of that treache-  
 rous crew, now usurping the name of a parliament in  
 England, than any who did ever fight against them; and  
 therefore I came to the distinguishing of malignants,  
 "some whose aims appeared evidently to be for their own  
 "selves, either that they might abide in a capacity to ty-  
 "rannize over their fellow-subjects, or to raise their  
 "fortunes, already desperate, by the publick troubles.  
 "Such malignants were justly unpardonable; and they  
 "had none to blame for the ruin of their families  
 "and themselves but their own obstinacy. As for o-  
 "thers, in whom it doth appear, that private and by-  
 "ends have not set them a work, their case is pitied;  
 "and it has ever been the custom of the parliaments of  
 "Scotland to fail rather in too great clemency than cruel-  
 "ty." "Well," says the Prince, "if ye that are mini-  
 "sters will not employ your utmost credit for uniting of  
 "all your country, (I mean not," says he, "of such who  
 "have been bloody obstinate enemies to you), ye may lose  
 "both yourselves and the cause; and I know there is no-  
 "thing that should more confound the counsels of all  
 "your enemies, than to see you forget quarrels among  
 "yourselves; for this, they say, How can Scotland, thus  
 "divided, be able to do any thing of moment, since the





" forces of the party which now rules are but little enough to suppress their enemies? I therefore do as earnestly recommend this to you, that you would acquaint your ministers with it, as they by you do recommend their business. If I did not think it tending to the enabling of you to make your party good, I should not open my mouth about it." Here he enlarged himself very pertinently and full upon the project of an act of oblivion; and told me, "That the party who now rules, will not be so ill advised as to reject this motion, if they would but consider how suddenly things may be changed." I assure you he could tell me faults committed in our private government, whereof I was wholly ignorant, which he says he learned from the English council, when they were debating about the very lawfulness of our Scottish parliament, whether lawfully indicted, maintaining strongly, that their committee, who called it, had no power, because they had not subscribed the acts of the former parliaments; "but, said he," "I quickly crushed such a motion in the very shell."

"But," says he, "the King, by subscribing that covenant, will disengage all Papists from his service, both in Ireland and elsewhere, and all but Presbyterians; for it obliges the King to root out Papistry every where in his dominions, which he is not able to do in the condition wherein he is." I answered, "That same argument our late Sovereign used; but how damageful his going about to please Papists was, doleful experience has taught, for Ireland especially. It has been that which has withdrawn the party of the Protestants from him more than any thing else. And what advantage took the Irish Papists at the King's weakness? When they capitulated with him, what little performances did the King find of their big promises? and since ever he began to meddle with them, did not his condition decay daily? That the condition of Protestants called Presbyterians, in Great Britain and Ireland, is not so mean, but if the King would cheerfully join himself to them, as *caput et vindex fœderis*, there would be no doubt of great and good success. As for the particulars, how much they could do, I durst not take it upon me to speak out. I was sure, that in all Scotland there was not a man who would not be for the King; and for one Independent, there would be found three Presbyterians; "and



“ and the rest, being either hierachical men, or Papists, “ if they would not assist the King, they would far less assist the traiterous sectaries.” “ I perceive,” says his Highness, “ what ye mean ; but how many Presbyterians “ forever there be, if ye live at a distance, as I hear ye do “ now in Scotland, ye will be able to do nothing at all. “ It is a work fitting your calling to unite the hearts of “ all the great men whom you know to be Protestants.” And here I suspecting, that it might be his Highness did mean Montrose, as they call him, who is frequently at court, and more familiar with many than welcome, I said, “ I hoped his Highness did not mean of that man, whose “ apostacy, perjuries, and unheard-of cruelty, had made “ so odious to all in our country, that they could not “ hear of his name.” He presently gave me to understand, that he meant not him, or any such ; for by the comportment of our Scottish noblemen at court now, he perceives how odious James Graham must be at home ; for they will not salute or speak to him ; nay, not look where they think he is : and this I have observed with my own eyes. At last, having answered all his questions, I repeated my desire, and humbly prayed his Highness to continue in that holy and wholesome resolution ; and to improve his credit with our King, that a satisfactory answer may be given with all haste, shewing the danger of delay.

“ But,” said he, “ when will the commissioners come “ to his Majesty ?” I answered, “ I thought not until “ the gentleman returned with an answer to Scotland.” He asked me, “ If I knew who they should be ?” I answered, “ I knew not.” “ Will any ministers come ?” said he. I answered, “ That I questioned not but some “ would come who would be able to satisfy all his “ Highness’s scruples better than I possibly could.” “ I “ with,” says he, “ some ministers would come, for several reasons.” I replied, “ That they shall come the “ more cheerfully, when they shall understand how much “ your Highness doth engage yourself for persuading the “ King’s Majesty to go to Scotland, with a resolution to “ subscribe both the covenants.” Then said the Prince, “ Ye may confidently assure them, that I shall do my utmost endeavour ; and come ye to me to-morrow, and I “ shall tell you what you may expect.”

So away went I, and to-morrow, being admitted to his  
S 1 2
presence.



presence, he told me, "He had made it his work yesterday to persuade the King's Majesty, that the resolution was taken to satisfy the desires of the parliament of Scotland, and that in all haste, letters were to be written of that in answer to what the King received." And here again he recommended the care of uniting all our noblemen in one, in passing by what faults have been the last year; and told me, it should be most welcome news to him, if I should let him know that any thing was done in reference to this.

Thus, cousin, ye have the substance of that discourse, by which ye may see I have obtained the end of your letter, and that in a fitter way than ye prescribed. I most earnestly intreat you, that you would represent to the reverend brethren of the commission, how much the same of rigidity, used by them against the last year's engagers, is like to endanger the reputation of our kirk abroad, and like also to make presbyterial government hateful. My heart trembles when I think of this; for I am certainly informed, by a printer, that that infamous person, who goes under the name of \*\*\*\*, has a big volume ready, of the late practices of the Scottish kirks in the exercise of discipline, which ye may think are willingly furnished to him by some banished Scotsman. 2. That all lovers of our cause and nation do unanimously judge, that there are no probable means of our safety, if we unite not, and pack not up all quarrels amongst ourselves; if there be not an amnesty for the last year's engagement; for such had reason to challenge the English army overpowering the parliament, for breach of covenants, and that your fears of mischief against the King were not causeless, he is blamed who shall not. If there were faults in the compassing your votes, as I doubt not but there have been very great ones, yet let not desire of justice against these circumstantial failings, lead us to seek the ruin of these men; or, by excluding them from government, deprive the kingdom of their abilities, and weaken ourselves so, that we shall not be able to oppose these treacherous and bloody sectaries to purpose. If any of our reverend brethren had been here to have been ear-witness what three of these Lords, now put in our first classes, did here, in opposition to the English council and Montrose, and all others who were for Ireland, sure I am you would have blessed God who brought them hither in this nick of time. If any  
commissioners



commissioners shall come, I entreat you, see that some of the ablest of our ministers come also, who may be able to stand against Dr Stuart and such like, if occasion should serve, and may serve for the honour of our kirks with the Dutch also. If the lot fall on you that ye must come, ye will let me know so much, that I may attend you. You may be sure I shall most willingly contribute my little wit for the advancing this so good a work. Oh! if the Lord would bless it, so might we yet hope for light in the midst of this darkness wherewith we are threatened.

*The 9th-19th March 1649. In my chamber at home.*

184. *Mr Spang to Mr Baillie.*

*Tibi soli.*

Cousin,

I have reason to be glad that the honest party at home with you have such a good opinion of me as one whom they conceive willing to employ himself for the publick. Let me never live longer than whilst I have a desire to improve what is in me that way, which makes me more curious in asking for the grounds of your actions than otherwise I would be; and my doubts are merely proponed, that I getting satisfaction, may be able to satisfy others. With all whom I have conferred about the business for which I went to Holland, I found none complained less of the rigid severity of the kirk and parliament's proceedings with you than these three noblemen, whom it most concerned, as being these who are made to leave their country, and to suffer the plundering of their goods by these severe acts. I will not question what equity is in your so dealing with them, but ye will find it had conduc'd more for the publick to have us'd greater lenity. Neither (so far as wiser men than I am do see) shall ye ever have sure peace without rescinding the last acts, of your ranking, whom you are pleas'd to call malignants, into four classes. Passion has been too great in that act; for it is judg'd a greater sin not to protest against that late engagement, than to be an ordinary drunkard, since it is declared punishable with a more severe punishment. Both friends and enemies told me, that this favoured much of the Romish severity, where eating of flesh being a breach  
of





of man's law, is more heartily punished than notorious transgressions of God's; and be assured that our enemies will proclaim quickly this, with much more to the world by print; yet as I have written, these three noblemen digest patiently all that is done against them, and are most diligent and active for promoting of your ends. You are not disappointed of your hopes of noble Lauderdale and Lanerk, and I assure you of the Earl of Callender, who told me, in plain terms, that the King may with greater assurance confide in these who now rule with you than in others; ye know whom I mean. If ye come hither, and do not bring a full rescinding of what the parliament has decreed against them, ye will be looked upon as most ingrate men; and none would be more glad of your misery than the English malignants and James Graham, because they do and have so opposed their plots. Likewise, it would be needful that ye remitted much of that rigor which, in your church-assemblies, ye use against ministers who have proven your great friends ever before. It will be better to let your sails fall somewhat lower in time, before a storm compel you; or ye, who think God so highly glorified by casting out your brethren, and putting so many to beggary, making room through such depositions to young youths, who are oft miscarried with ignorant zeal, may be made, through your own experience, to feel what it is, which now, without pity, is executed upon others. Generally the great power which the commission of the kirk exercises, displeaseth all. It is but an extraordinary meeting, and yet sits constantly and more ordinarily than any synod; yea and without the knowledge of provincial synods and presbyteries, deposes ministers, enjoins, *pro auctoritate*, what writs they please to be read, inflicts censures upon those who will not read them. If the kirk of Scotland look not to this in time, we will lament it when we cannot mend it. They say four or five rule that meeting; and is not the liberty of the kirk come to a fair market thereby? We have an act, that nothing shall be brought to a greater meeting which has not first been treated of in a smaller; but now your compend of the general assembly, or deputies of it, at the first instance, judge of matters which might be better handled in lesser meetings. For God's sake, look this course in time be stopped, else the commission of the kirk will swallow up all other ecclesiastick judicatories, and such ministers who reside



reside in and about Edinburgh, shall at last ingross all church-power in their hands. I know their is a piece of prudence hereby used, to get the power in the hands of those who are good; but what assurance have we but what they may change, or others, following this course, creep into their places? We meet with daily regrets that the ancient ministry are condemned, and the insolence of young ones fostered, the very forerunner of Jerusalem's destruction. The Lord make us wise in time.

Mr Samuel Rutherford is called to be professor of divinity and the Hebrew tongue, in the new-erected university in Harderwyck. You must be well advised at home what to do, if our kirk can want such a man in the great scarceness of such. It is not his English he writes that commendeth him, as his Latin treatise against the Jesuits and Arminians. If ye had published any thing in Latin, you would not be suffered to stay where you are; but then you would have lost your place in yearly provincial synods. Scottish ministers are generally looked upon by the English to be so rigid in discipline, that there are no hopes for any of our nation to have a place among them; besides, the dissention of the nation. What a fearful judgement of God is this upon us, that what we thought should have joined the nations inseparably, is like to be the greatest separator of them. It fears me many of our hearts, in the pursuit of it, have not been upright. I know not how this my freedom may be taken by some; but it comforts me that I am assured ye know it comes from a heart addicted to the welfare of our kirk, no ways discontented when the godly party have such a sway; only I wish we used prudence, lest we open a door to tyranny, while we think to shut tyrants out of the kirk. The devil has many wiles to mislead men. That monster of Popery walked modestly at first, and it was good; but imprudent men who led the way to it.

You will not do well to refuse coming hither when our commissioners come, I wish both wise and moderate godly men come with you. All the country's eyes here will be upon you more than those whom the state sends. I hear much of Mr Robert Douglas's moderation. Oh! we miss now that precious servant of Christ, Mr Alexander Henderson; he would have been a man fit for this purpose. Whoever comes, see that ye come, and bide not



not behind. If you think I can be useful for you, let me be informed at your first arrival in Holland. You will find our young Prince of Orange, one of the hopefullest youths that ever Europe brought forth, and willing to do all good offices for the cause. But more of this if God bring you hither, and I be alive. The Lord direct you all by his Holy Spirit.

When you send commissioners of state, let them be such as speak good French, if not Latin. It will be no great wisdom that who are sent must be directed or made to depend upon any but their own prudence. You will do well to consider of the letter, which anno 1646, the assembly wrote to our late king; for the Independents make it a part of the rule they walked by. And, 2dly, They say, that in your last assembly, you have declared that these words of the covenant, where ye speak of defending the king's person and authority, in defence of religion and liberties, are explained to be a limitation and excluding your obedience to him, except in such acts. And what say these bloody Independents? "Their putting the King to a violent death is not against the covenant; for they have put him to death, not for his defending religion, and the parliament's liberties, but for going about the overthrow of both." Think of this.

Since the writing of this, and the other letter of this same date, I bethought myself to write another, which, if you think fit, you may communicate it to others; yea, to the commission, but upon the condition that no man misconstrue my meaning. I know how ready men will be in these troublesome times to entertain jealousies of their brethren, and to make men offenders for a word; therefore I remit the publication of it to others to your prudence. I only relate what I have from others, and these not malignants but friends. Moderate counsels used to be of account, and *festina lente* was an advice never a man repented of.

I write this third letter since Sir Joseph Douglas his coming hither, and that I heard such a change in the king. I intreat you not to spare an occasion in writing to me. With our Conservator, or the ship of war, you will have a fit opportunity. Timorous and full information how matters stand with you, in good earnest, may do much good, and since our Prince of Orange is so earnest, from time to time, to know the state of our affairs, that



he may be able to help us wherein he can, it is reasonable we satisfy him. I have promised to give him notice of what I shall know.

Your Cousin,  
March 19. 1649.

ANDERSON.

185. *The Commission's letter to the King, with Sir Joseph Douglas. Edinburgh, February 7. 1649.*

May it please your Majesty,

As we did always acknowledge your royal father his just power and greatness, and poured forth our supplications and prayers to God on his behalf, and do abhor these unparalleled proceedings of sectaries against his Majesty's person and life, so we do willingly and cheerfully acknowledge your Majesty's most just right of succession to reign as king over these kingdoms; and do resolve, in the power of the Lord's strength, to continue in prayer and supplication for your Majesty, that you may fear the great and dreadful name of the Lord your God, and reign in righteousness and equity, and the Lord's people under you, live a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty.

These kingdoms, now for many years past, have been involved in many calamities and confusions, by which the Lord's work hath been obstructed and retarded, and the blood of his people shed as water spilt upon the ground; and we cannot but look upon the counsels of the ungodly as a main cause of all these evils. It hath been the cunning of the Popish, Prelatical, and malignant party, to traduce Presbyterian government, and the solemn league and covenant, as destructive to monarchy, and with so much wit and industry they manage those calumnies, that your royal father, to our exceeding grief, was kept at a distance, in his judgement, from these things that do much concern the kingdom of Jesus Christ, the peace and safety of these kingdoms, and the establishing of the king's throne, and was estranged in his affection from them who tendered his person and authority.

And seeing the Lord now calls your Majesty to succeed to one of the greatest and most important employments upon the earth, which is much heightened by the present condition, it is our earnest desire your Majesty, in





the name of the Lord Jesus, whose servants we are, that you would not only shut your ears against calumnies, but avoid the company, and shun the counsels of the ungodly, who study to involve your Majesty's interest, and that which concerns the preservation of your royal person, and the establishing of your throne with their private interests and ends, and to make your loyal subjects odious, that they only may be gracious; and that your Majesty would avoid all the temptations and snares that accompany youth, and humble yourself under the mighty hand of God, and seek him early, and labour to have your senses exercised in his word; and that your Majesty would establish Presbyterial government, and allow and injoin the solemn league and covenant, and employ your royal power for promoting and advancing the work of uniformity in religion in all your Majesty's dominions. It is by the Lord, who bears rule in all the kingdoms of the sons of men, that kings do reign; and whatever carnal policy suggest to the contrary, there is nothing can contribute so much for securing the kingdom in their hand, as being for his honour, and studying to do his will in all things. Therefore we know not so sure and speedy a way for securing of government in your Majesty's person and posterity, and disappointing all the designs of enemies, both on the right hand and on the left.

We trust it shall yet afterwards be no grief of heart to your Majesty to hearken unto us in these things, (we have hitherto obtained mercy of God to be constant to our principles, and not to decline to extremes, to own the way either of malignants or sectaries, and we were faithful and free with your royal father, would to God he had hearkened to our advice). The Lord grant unto your Majesty wisdom to discern the times, and to make use of the opportunity of doing acceptable service to God, and engaging the hearts and affections of your people in the beginning of your Majesty's reign, by condescending to these necessary things; so shall the Lord bless your Majesty's person, establish the throne, and our spirits, and the spirits of all his people in these lands, shall, after so many years of affliction, be refreshed and revived, and encouraged certainly to pray for your Majesty, and to praise God on your behalf; and in their places and stations, by all other suitable means to endeavour your honour and happiness, that your Majesty may reign in prosperity



prosperity and peace over these kingdoms ; which is the earnest desire and prayer of

Your Majesty's loyal subjects and humble servants,  
The Commissioners of the general assembly.

186. *Letter to the Commission, from Holland. Hague, April 3. 1649.*

Reverend and Beloved Brethren,

THIS is the first opportunity we have had of making to you any account of our proceedings. On Tuesday, at night, March 22d, the Lord brought us all safe to Rotterdam. On the Friday we went to the Delft. There we thought meet to rest till the Monday, both because of our own resolution to keep one day of humiliation in our family for making our first address to God, and also because of our information by some of our friends who met us at the Delft, that his Majesty would be taken up with his Easter devotions till Tuesday following. We therefore, on the Sabbath, did preach and pray in our family, and found the goodness of the Lord with us ; and on the Monday did put our papers and affairs in order. At night we came to the Hague, and spoke with some friends, who were not many there. On Tuesday, the second afternoon, we came to the court, and had a favourable reception. My Lord Cassils did speak to his Majesty in name of the parliament and kingdom, and Mr Robert Baillie in name of the church. So far as we could learn, what was spoken was taken in good part by all who heard. The rest of that day, and the following, was spent in visiting the Queen of Bohemia, the Princess-royal, the Prince of Orange, the Princess-dowager, and the States-General.

The commissioners of parliament found it necessary to give in, as previous to their desires, a paper, for removing of James Graham from court. His Majesty's answer, under his own hand, was, That he desired and expected all our propositions together ; to which he hoped to give a satisfactory answer. With this we were not content ; but pressed again our desire. The commissioners of parliament by another paper, and we also by one seconded theirs, a copy whereof we send you herewith. The King's



second answer was an abiding in the first. We had all of us some discourse with his Majesty about the equity and necessity of that our desire; but James Graham hath so many and so powerful friends in the English council, that as yet we cannot get the King to discountenance him.

On Saturday morning we delivered to his Majesty the National Covenant, the League and Covenant, the Directory, the Confession of Faith, the Catechism, the Propositions for government, bound together in a book so handsome as we could get them. We spoke something on the matter, and desired of his Majesty more frequent and private conferences; who shewed his willingness, and promised to send to us to advertise of his fittest opportunities. On the Sunday we preached in our own house. We thought not meet to go to the English congregation; their distractions amongst themselves for the present being so great, that our going there, we conceived, should have given offence, and prejudged our affairs.

On the Monday we purposed to have given in our desires in the paper, which herewith also we send, but his Majesty was abroad in the afternoon, so we delayed till this day. We cannot yet make any judgement of the success. The most part of the council are averse from our desires; yet we have our friends. His Majesty is of a very sweet and courteous disposition. It were all the pities in the world but he were in good company. We hope he is not so far rooted in any principle contrary to us, but that, by God's blessing on our friends labours, he may be gotten to do us reason, whatsoever our fears be for the present. There is a very evil generation both of English and Scots here, who vomit out all their evil humour against all our proceedings. The peace of France, and an unhappy book, *Eliza Britannica*, does us much prejudice. Also the supposed death of Huntly is wrested to our disadvantage. Dr Bramhall of Derry has printed the other day at Delft a wicked pamphlet against our church. We have no time, nor do we think it fit, to print an answer; but, by the grace of God, shall endeavour, with all faithfulness and diligence, to go about our instructions. We had much need of your prayers. The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you, and protect that church and kingdom from all the mischief that the instruments of Satan on all hands are preparing to bring upon us; but our  
hope



hope is in the name of the Lord, to whose protection we commit you, and rests,

Your brethren, and servants in the Lord,

CASSILS.

GEO. WINDRAM.

ROBERT BAILLIE.

JAMES WOOD.

187. *My speech to the King, spoken at the Hague, March 27. in the King's bed-chamber, Tuesday, three o'clock in the afternoon.*

Most Gracious Sovereign,

IN these very sad and calamitous times, the church of Scotland hath sent some of us who are here, ministers and ruling elders, and others who are yet behind, in commission to your Majesty, to declare, in their name, not only the sincere and deep grief of that whole church for your Majesty's most lamentable afflictions, but also their real and great joy for your Majesty's succession to the throne, and their confident hopes, by the blessing of the Most High, on your royal person and government, now at last to come up out of that pit of grievous confusions, calamities, fears, and dangers, wherein long they have been sinking.

According therefore to this our trust, we do declare, what in our own breasts often we have felt, and generally in the people among whom we live, have seen with our eyes an mournful sorrow for that execrable and tragick parricide, which, though all men on earth should pass over unquestioned, yet we nothing doubt but the great judge of the world will arise, and plead against every one, of what condition soever, who have been either authors, or actors, or consenters, or approvers, of that hardly expressible crime, which stamps and stigmatizes, with a new and before unseen character of infamy, the face of the whole generation of sectaries and their adherents, from whose hearts and hands that vilest villany did proceed.

We do also profess, in name of them who have sent us hither, the great joy of all sorts of men in our land for the immediate filling of the vacant throne with your Majesty's most gracious and hopeful person, earnestly praying, that the light of the Lord's countenance may shine to bright





bright upon your Majesty's reign, that the very thick clouds of our present dangers and fears may flee away, and a new morning may spring up, to all your three kingdoms, of greater peace and prosperity, of more righteousness and virtue, especially of more religion and piety, than hath been seen in the days of any, the most pious, the most just, the most prosperous, of all your numerous ancestors.

For the present, we are loth to take up more of your Majesty's precious time; only we present the letter of our church, [p. 329.]; and what farther most loyal desires we have in commission, we shall, God willing, be ready, in all humility, to offer so soon as we shall know of a fit opportunity to stand again in your Majesty's most gracious presence.

188. *Mr Robert Baillie to Mr R. Douglas. April 3. 1649.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

By the inclosed to the commission of the church, you see the state of our affairs here. I wrote to Warilton from Rotterdam what was the posture of our affairs, as we then were informed. As yet our fears are great of a sore storm to Scotland; yet yesternight I learned from a great person here, that our affairs, blessed be God, are not desperate. There is no Scotsman that is of the King's council. The five or six English that are, Cottington, Culpepper, Hyde, Long, and some more, are divided. The most are of Prince Rupert's faction, who care for Montrose, and press mightily to have the King to Ireland. Culpepper, and some bedchamber-men, as Wilmot, Biron, Gerard, and the master of the horse, Piercy, are of the Queen's faction, and these are for the King's joining with us; but all of them are much averse from the league and covenant. The Prince of Orange, and by him all the nobles here, are for the last; and by their means we are hopeful yet to carry his Majesty to our covenant, and the most of our desires for religion; but I dare not promise so much: yet the greatest stick, I suspect, shall be our severe acts of parliament. It seems all here, even our best friends, will be peremptory for a greater mitigation than, I fear, shall be granted by you there. It were verily a great pity of the King. He is one of the most gentle, innocent, well-inclined princes, so far as yet appears, that  
Lives



lives in the world; a trim person; and of a manly carriage; understands pretty well; speaks not much; would God he were amongst us. I send you herewith the copy of what I said to him. Because it was but a transient speech, I give out no copies of it here at all; yet that we spoke so, it did us much good; for heavy slanders lay upon us here, which the report of our speeches helped to mitigate. Our enemies have great hopes, by the French peace, to get powerful assistance from France. I verily think, if the King and we shall agree, assistance shall be got from this state, and the Marquis of Brandenburg, and some others, for good purpose. I pray God guide you there to put no more impediments to our agreeance than are necessary. My heart bleeds to think of a necessity for Scotland to have any friendship for the English sectaries, the worst of men, and a war with our King and countrymen in our own bowels. What relaxation you may grant, with conscience and safety, let it be done freely and publicly with this express. It will admit of no longer delay. You will communicate this to my Lord Wariston.

Your Brother,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

♦ 189. *Mr Baillie to Mr R. Douglas.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

THOUGH I have nothing at this time for the commission of the kirk, yet to you I give this further account of our proceedings. After we had given in our chief paper, a double whereof you had in my last, it was thought meet we should speak with the King secretly and privately. I went to him first. He gave me a long and very favourable audience, from ten at night to near eleven. The contents of our free conference possibly I may send you on a sure occasion. At this time it is scarce safe. There is an English man of war near the Briel that searches all letters that come from this. As yet we cannot get it helped. In that conference I found the King, in my judgement, of a very meek and equitable disposition, understanding, and judicious enough, though firm to the tenets his education and company has planted in him. If God would send him among us, without some of his present counsellors, I think he might make, by God's blessing, as good a  
King



King as Britain saw these hundred years. Finding the great stop to be on the league and covenant, his own taking it, and assuring to pass it for England and Ireland, of his persuasion of passing all the acts of parliament, passed or to be passed in Scotland, for taking of it there, would be satisfactory. I strove by many reasons to shew the unsatisfactoriness of such a concession; and the day thereafter, but in writ, the chief of these my reasons, which I gave to the Prince of Orange, whom, after two long private conferences, I left, as it seemed, satisfied with every one of them, and promised to press them as hard as he could on the King. I found he had caused translate them into French, and had the substance of them by heart. I found a way to acquaint his mother with them, who is a wise and religious lady, and promises to hold her son right. The most of the counsellors are for Ireland, and all, both they and the bedchamber-men, even they who are our very great and real friends, are yet against our desire of the covenant in England; yet I am not desperate to get some satisfaction therein. We are looking daily for an answer. I fear I must engage with Dr Bramhall; for his Warning it doth so much ill to the King and all about him. We marvel ye write nothing to us. We have been vexed these eight days with constant reports here of the north's rising, and David Leslie's retiring. However it be, you ought not to leave us so long without all information. No scrape has any of us got since we saw you from any man. In haste, I rest, Yours, &c.

By a good friend of mine, a Dutch statesman, I got this double of the two papers the King gave in to the States-General; as yet he has got no answer. The particular provinces are acquainted therewith, but have not yet returned their mind. Surely, if his Majesty and we agree not, I see no human way either of his or our preservation; but God is great and good. It were a thousand pities that so sweet a man should not be at one with all his people.

190. *For Mr William Spang. September 14. 1649.*

Reverend and Beloved Brother,  
 — I thought to have sent you a particular account of  
 I the



the general assembly as I had done of some others; but the diary I wrote in the time, I lost; so I cannot now do it; neither were there much in it worth the remembrance. The lecting of two for the moderator fell to Mr Robert Douglas, the ante penult moderator; Mr Gillespie, the last, was departed, and Mr Blair never thoroughly well since his English journey. He was not able to come to Edinburgh, whereof I was very sorry. The two Mr Robert lected were, Mr Andrew Cant in earnest, and Mr Mungo Law for a fashion. The three the assembly added were, Mr Robert Douglas, Mr John Livingston, and, by equal voices, Mr David Dickson and me; so, without question, the voices for moderation fell on Mr Douglas, whereof my heart was exceeding glad; for I was very feared for it, and it had done me great hurt. The committees were framed according to the custom by the moderator and clerk in private, and read at the next session, without any change considerable. We spent very much time; whole five weeks: I thought a fortnight less might have done our turn. Transportations took up much time, and deposition of ministers. There had been divers commissions, east, west, north, and south, who had deposed many ministers, to the pity and grief of my heart; for sundry of them I thought might have, for more advantage every way, with a rebuke, been kept in their places; but there were few durst profess so much; and I, for my ingenuous freedom, lost much of my reputation, as one who was inclining to malignancy.

My speech to the King, speaking so sharply of his father's death, and the commendations I gave to himself, in the preface of my book, but especially a passage of a letter wrote from Holland, wherein, to a familiar friend, I spoke of the act of classes as to severe, that it will be needful to dispense with some part of it for the peace of the country: For these things, before the assembly, sundry spoke of me all their pleasure; yet I comforted myself in this, that I knew I was far from the calumny imposed, and that all the wise men I knew professed their agreement with me in the three things named. My unacquaintance with obloquy made my skin at this first assay more tender than needed; for I had so oft in print declared my sense against, not sectaries alone, but malignants also, and that so liberally, in my last book, that I thought in reason I should have been reputed above all suspicion of that crime;





crime; yet I was necessitated to drink more of that cup than I did truly deserve: for however in my sermon to the parliament I was as clear as needed, and in my report of our treaty obtained the unanimous approbation and thanks of the whole assembly, now in print; yet I behoved, in sundry voices of the assembly, either to quit the liberty of my mind, or endure the whisperings of my malignancy to continue. This last, though to my great grief, I behoved to chuse. I could not vote to depose Mr William Colvil upon his libel. The man indeed had, in my judgement, been an evil instrument in time of the engagement; yet all that was libelled against him was for mere silence in that engagement. For that alone I could depose no man, for the reasons I gave in the committee of the former assembly, when that act passed to depose for silence alone, if continued in. My mind did never go along with that act; though therefore I knew the whole assembly almost was otherwise minded, and foresaw the mistake of my voice by some, yet I behoved to vote his suspension to continue, and no farther. As for Mr Andrew Ramsay, more was libelled and proven against him, and all this year he carried himself in a cankered untoward way; yet I told, I could not voice to depose a man of such age and parts: so in that vote I was silent, to the peace of my own mind, though some of my friends wrote sharp letters to me for it. I had also some contest with my neighbours in Mr William Wilkie's process, whom I judged more hotly pursued than there was cause. But my sharpest contest was for the principal, whom I found some men to pursue still, without any ground at all considerable. Contrary to their design, I got him reasonably fair off. These contests, and wrack of my friends, were very bitter to mind, and, joining with the obloquy in the ear against me by some, troubled my spirit sometimes, till I got my grief and wrong vented and poured out to God; for there was no other whom I found able and willing to help me. It was a piece of comfort to me, that the best of the land were, on more probable grounds, taxed for compliance with sectaries than I with malignants, whom yet I knew to be innocent; and that I remembered the cloud of infamy under which superexcellent Mr Henderson lay, to my knowledge, till God and time blew it away. I have been often and forer afraid for the wo of Christ to them, whom all the world love and speak good of, than I was grieved for



for any reproachful speeches which some were begun to mutter against me; but this now is our condition, that the chief in church, state, and army, how innocent soever, are whispered to favour either sectaries or malignants.

In our report, when I had ended what you read in print, my colleague Mr Wood, of his own motion, truly gave a very ample testimony of my Lord Lauderdale and you, for your service. What was spoken of you, all took well; but sundry were pleased to mistake what was said of Lauderdale, albeit my Lord Cassils, in his report to the parliament, had said as much of him; but some men fearing a design to bring Lauderdale into employment at this very time, were not pleased with any motion of that kind, otherwise I had debated in the grand committee much to have the satisfaction of the engagers much fairer than it stands, and once I had got Mr Livingston, with the good liking of the committee, to a draught near to Lauderdale's mind; yet thereafter that was cancelled, and the act framed as it stands, to my grief. I wished earnestly, and so did the Chancellor intreat Mr Robert Douglas, but out of time, that the framing of the declaration should have been committed to another hand than that it fell in; who, how able soever, yet was generally thought to be among the most severe of the company to the King; but this could not be helped. Some clauses we got altered in the committee; yet, as it stands, I much fear it shall prove a division-wall betwixt the King and us for ever. We were always expecting the promised expresses from him, and for that end, some of us held off all we could, determinations of every thing concerned him; but when none did appear, and when at last William Murray had come without any letter or instruction, either private or publick, then there was no remedy, but the declaration and letter, in the style you see it, and the act about the engagers, went out without contradiction, which, as I foresaw and foretold in the Hague, puts harder and more peremptory conditions on the King than there would have given satisfaction. We had greatest debate for an act of election of ministers. Mr David Calderwood was peremptor, that according to the Second Book of Discipline, the election should be given to the presbytery, with power to the major part of the people to dissent, upon reason to be judged of by the presbytery. Mr Ru-



therford and Mr Wood were as peremptory to put the power and voices of election in the body of the people, contradistinct from their eldership; but the most of us were in Mr Gillespie's mind, in his *Miscellanies*, that the direction was the presbyteries, the election the sessions, and the consent the peoples. Sundry draughts were offered. Mr Woods, most studied, was refused; Mr Calderwoods also. Mr Livingston came nearer our mind, yet was laid aside. Mine came nearest the mind of all, and almost had past; but for avoiding debate, a general confused draught (avoiding, indeed, the present question, but leading us into so many questions thereafter as any pleased to make) passed with my consent. But Mr D. Calderwood and Mr John Smith reasoned much against it in face of the assembly; where, against my mind, the Book of Discipline was pressed against them, and a double election made, one before trial, and another after, as if the election before, and the trial by the Second Book of Discipline, were given to the people, and that after-trial, before ordination, to the presbytery. This I thought was nothing so, but was silent, being in my mind contrary to Mr David in the main; though, in this incident debate of the sense of the Book of Discipline, I was for him. However, already we find the defect of our act; for, as I conceive and expressed it, so in my draught so much direction in this is due to presbyteries, that they ought to recommend to the session men to be elected, without prejudice of their liberty to add whom they think fit: but I find it the design now of leading brethren, that the presbyteries shall not meddle at all with any recommendations, but leave that wholly to any particular busy man of the presbytery, to whisper in the ear of some leading man of the parish, to get voices to any young man, though never heard in privy exercise, that he, by desires of the people to the presbytery, may be put on trials for such a church. This I find will be the way of our elections, which I think not orderly. However, Mr D. Calderwood entered a very sharp protestation against our act, which he required to be registered. This is the first protestation we heard of in our time; and had it come from any other, he had not escaped censure.

There was a design, at the last assembly, to have got the hands of many ministers to a supplication for moderating, in some things, the power of the commission of the



the church, which was expounded by this assembly truly to have been the overthrowing, in favour of the malignant party, the power of the kirk. Great din was made for this supplication, to try what was the bottom of it, and a very severe act was made against the thing; yet Mr Douglas carried it so, that no man at all, even the chief contrivers, did suffer any thing for it, upon what ground I could never learn to my satisfaction; whether, because to Mr Robert Laurie, the confessed penner of the principal supplication, impunity was promised for his ingenuous and early confession, and he being secure, others less guilty could not be got punished; or because others foreseeing what necessity there might be for themselves to do more than supplicate a general assembly, had no will that any supplication whatsoever, especially being only intended, and never offered, should be a ground of church-censure. However, albeit a terrible act was made against the thing, contrary to my mind, yet no man was to this day called to any account for it, nor, as I hear, shall ever be.

I was much afraid that the subscription required of the engagers should have made many prime men in our land desperate; but I am now very glad that so many offer themselves to do all that is required, as I expect there shall be very few who shall stick upon it, so I wish from my heart that Lauderdale may be moved to do what I found Callender and Dumfermline ready for, when I was there with you; and what I saw in the assembly, Middleton very near, and others, as Galloway, Linlithgow, Ogilvie, Baillie, Innes, Cochran, Kenmure, Fleming, &c. actually to offer. I do not expect now above three or four persons in Scotland who shall make scruple of that subscription, which, I hope, may be a mean to teach that man (for whom alone my love makes me afraid) some more wisdom. Mr Hary Guthrie, in his appeal to the assembly, had used some sharp and reflecting reasons, for which they summoned him to appear, resolving to have excommunicated him, if they did not find submission: but quickly his spirit was daunted. In all humility he appeared, and passed from his appeal, which obtained him favour not to be farther proceeded against. Mr William Colvil took his sentence of deposition submissively. Mr Andrew Ramsay professed his suffering. Some would have been at the present processing of both, as guilty of all





all the blood, and all the consequences of the engagement ; but Mr R. Douglas quashed these motions, which otherwise easily had been carried on.

It was all our minds to have had transportations better regulated than they had been ; for indeed their needless frequency was intolerable, yet Mr R. Douglas got all that shifted till Edinburgh once again be provided both of ministers and professors. For their university they moved for Mr Rutherford, but that was thought absurd. It seems they would be at Dr Colvil, but he will not be given them, as a man demi-malignant. They who judge so of that man, would give them Mr James Wood, or Mr D. Dickson ; but in my mind, neither of these may be transported without greater hurt to the places they are in than benefit to Edinburgh, though they could get them ; but as yet Edinburgh desires neither, and on whom they will fall yet, it does not appear. We fear they trouble us one way or other.

One day I escaped, to my sense, one of the greatest burdens ever was laid on me. Our committee, after many motions, had resolved for drawing up of the history of the times, to propound to the assembly a lect of three or four ; Mr James Wood, Mr John Livingston, Mr Ja. Guthrie, and me. My profession made me secure of all danger, as I thought ; and I minded it no more : but in the end of the assembly, when it came to be voiced, it ran wholly betwixt Mr John Livingston and me ; and had not the opinion of my malignancy diverted some voices, I had undoubtedly been oppressed with that charge. As it was, I escaped it but by two or three voices ; but I blessed the Lord for it ; for to me it had all the days of my life been a burden intolerable, for many causes.

The assembly, for the full purgation of the church, as in former years, so in this also, has appointed divers committees ; one in Angus, one in Stirlingshire, one in the Merse, one in Ross, one in Argyle, with most ample power. On these committees the most zealous men are put, which some few can chuse (even of very young men lately admitted ministers) for deposing such as presbyteries and synods do spare. I acknowledge the disinclination of my mind to so frequent depositions of ministers, and to all courses that further that, to me so severe an action ; but this is a great part of my malignancy.

I think at last we shall get a new Psalter. I have furthered



thered that work ever with my best wishes ; but the scruple now arises of it in my mind, the first author of my translation, Mr Rous, my good friend, has complied with the sectaries, and a member of their republick. How a Pfalter of his framing, albeit with much variation, shall be received by our church, I do not well know ; yet it is needful we should have one, and a better in haste we cannot have. The assembly has referred it to the commission to cause print it after the last revision, and to put it in practice.

These were the chief things of our long and tedious five weeks labour ; only we appointed a letter to be drawn for our brethren of England for their encouragement. The draught was Mr James Durham's. It was his first, but did not so fully please as to pass, but was referred to the commission to perfect. Our brethren of Ireland had sent Mr John Greg to us, to have our advice about their carriage in my Lord of Aird's defection. No publick advice was given ; but Mr Livingston and Mr Maclellan were appointed to confer with him on all his propositions.

All this while the parliament did sit, though ready to rise at our first downsitting, more than at our rising. Their main cause of sitting was to see what we brought from the King. Thereafter, being to rise, constant reports, week after week, of Cromwell's purpose to bring down the army on us before it went to Ireland, made them sit still to see to the defence of the country. To increase the levies, was to put the country to a farther burden, while the present was as great as could be borne, and caused dangerous grumbling every where ; also, if a greater army had been on foot, the world would not keep them out of England, which we did not intend, being far from any agreement with the King ; so nothing considerable was done, or could be done, though the English had come on us. They had written a letter with a messenger, to desire a treaty with us. Our answer was, that we could not acknowledge the present authority. This drew from them a paper, in reasonable soft words ; but clearly enough renouncing all former treaties as broken by our parliament's invasion, an advantage which they would openly make that use of, as to have it a breach of all their obligations to us. To this we made no reply ; for what needs paper-debates at such a time ?

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While there is nothing to do in our parliament, they make themselves business enough. Our westland shires had, in the rates of monthly maintenance in bygone times, been burthened above other shires. Oft they had complained; but got no redress; they resolved therefore, now or never, to have it helped. Cassils, Cessnock, Sir John Cheesly, and others, got it so contrived, that an act passed for their ease, with the burthening of the eastern shires. Against this they entered a protestation, especially the commissioners of Lothian and Fife, and well near the half of the parliament, having Burleigh, Balcarras, Liberton, Lothian, to countenance them. With their protestation they arose and left the house. This division was very troublesome and scandalous. It continued near a fortnight; but was at last accommodated; yet so that the westlandmen had their desire. This was not well settled till the boroughs fell out among themselves in a great heat. Sundry of the boroughs had been long grudging that Edinburgh should bear so small a proportion of the common burden, judging that for their trade and their wealth, the one half of the whole boroughs burden might be laid on them, 50 of an 100, whereas they paid but a twenty-seventh part or thereabout; so in their convention at the Queensferry, they advanced them a third part, and diminished Glasgow, St Andrew's, Irvine, and some others, a part of their proportion. This the provost and council of Edinburgh took in an exceeding evil part, and stormed much at it, yet could not remedy it. But the most bitter difference was the last day of their sitting. Cassils, and others, of a long time, had a great desire to have the annualrent so low as might be. Many ways had been projected for the payment of your ransoms; but all had failed. The money had paid to the publick of the eighth that was due in the hundred, one and a half; it was moved to put it to six in the hundred for the time to come, but during the troubles to keep it at eight, whereof one and a half to be paid as of before, and the other half merk to go to the ransoms. When this was going, the whole boroughs, except two or three obscure ones, protested, with high passion, and went out; the rest sat still, and for no dealing of Wariston and Mr R. Douglas, would so much as delay the closing of the parliament that night, for they feared, if they had delayed to the morrow, that the people should have been set on them

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with tumultuary supplications; so the parliament closed without the boroughs; yea, the committee of estates was made of a quorum, which should subsist without them, if they should persist to absent themselves, as they threatened they would. Much high language passed on both sides; yet some days thereafter, the boroughs were made content to sit in the committee of estates: but all these grudges stick in the stomachs of many, waiting but an opportunity to discharge them.

By William Murray's private dealing, it seems Lothian was made willing, with Argyle's consent, to have been sent to the King, but alone. Argyle therefore, off-hand, moved in parliament, in the absence of Wariston, and without the privity of the Chancellor, or any other of his friends of the church, to have a new address to the King, and carried it without any opposition; but incontinent many thoughts began to arise about the matter. Some began to be jealous of Argyle, that he was inclining to a new trinketing with the King by himself; others, that the manner of his proceeding was to mar the matter of purpose. However, the rashness of that unripe motion did no good. Lothian's employment was shifted. All it ended in, was a new letter to be carried by a gentleman; and in the last day he was voiced to be Liberton; who finding the letter drawn by Sir John Cheesly, though much smotherer than the church's, drawn by Mr James Wood, yet to be so harsh, and the instructions so scabrous, that there was no hope of doing any good with the King thereby, has to this day shifted to go for all his call. Yet I think it not unlike that he may be moved to go now on the great change of the Irish affairs. His Majesty's chief hope was Ireland; and indeed it looked once pretty fair for him. Ormond had taken in all the south but Dublin, which he had straitly besieged. Cromwell, for all his diligence, had delayed very long to come over. My Lord of Airds, in a very false subtle way, had put himself in the government of Ulster. Sir Robert Stuart and George Monro had joined with him, and laid siege to Derry. If Derry and Dublin had been got, there was no more ado but to have sent for the King, and come over with him, first to Scotland, and then to England. This was the King's great snare all this year, to keep him off an agreement with us. But behold how soon all this hope evanished; Jones, having got some supply of men from England,





makes an irruption on Ormond's camp so prosperously, that he well near raised the siege. However, he encourages Cromwell, without more delay, to come over, shewing Ormond, for all his great force, so easy to be dealt with. Mackart, in the mean time, joined with Sir Charles Cutts, and coming towards Derry, made all our besiegers get away, because the ministers before had preached so much against Aird's treachery, that few of the people had heart or hand to join him, but generally all deserted him; wherefore he and his party, as if by Ormond's command, began to threaten the ministers, which made them altogether leave the country, and come over to us. In the mean time Cromwell, in the south, has put Ormond, without stroke of sword, to his garrisons, and keeps Prince Rupert with his ships in Kinsale. Mackart, with his army, plunders at his pleasure in the north, and shortly it is expected Cromwell shall be clear master of all Ireland, as he is of England; and then have at the third poor broken kingdom, more easy than the other two to be swallowed down. This being our case, likely our committee of estates may hasten Liberton to the King, to see if, when the rotten reed of Ireland is broken, he will think better of our propositions than he did before; so much the more as the Presbyterians in England, by a very pithy supplication, which they sent to me, and I to our state, do press the same point. If either we neglect to seek him, or he continue to refuse our conditions, the ruin of both seems to be near; and though he were joined with us in our terms, yet he has delayed so long, that our difficulties and his would be insuperable but by the hand of God. Always, we would suffer all hardships with the greater comfort, that he and we were conjoined in God against the common enemy of God, of his house, and our country. If we make a new application, whoever hinders the King to condescend to any terms we shall or can propose, I shall conclude them in my heart, most unhappy, and either very malicious or very foolish men. — In your next, let me know where the Duke, Callender, Seaforth, Sinclair, James Graham are; but above all, what Lauderdale intends to do. What is become of Willoughby, Massey, Bunch also. Try to your power if there be any suspicion of Captain Tiutus's compliance, either with sectaries or malignants. It concerns me to know this quickly, if you can learn. If your intelligence



telligence to Cassils and our state be so rare as it is to me, it will be little worth. —

191. *The following supposed to be wrote to Mr Christopher Love, beheaded on Tower-hill for corresponding with Argyle and Mr Baillie. Perth, Friday, December 20. 1650.*

Reverend and Beloved Brother,

THE letters of our friends there to Mr Douglas and to Mr Jameſon, [i. e. Mr Baillie], also two to the general assembly, the one of an old date, the other since the defeat at Dunbar, came but lately to our hands. For fear of your hazard then, we thought it expedient to communicate them but to a few. At first were called together, the Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Argyle, the Earls of Cassils and Lothian, with Mr Douglas, Mr Blair, Mr Jameſon, and Mr Wood. One and all were very much refreshed and encouraged by the two publick most gracious and seasonable letters. The answer of them was remitted to the next meeting of the commission of the church the last of this month, where we purpose to make more publick use of these, if we shall then find it stand with your safety. In the mean time, Mr Jameſon was appointed to give you some short account of affairs here, which be pleased to receive.

The whole eight days before the defeat at Dunbar, the Lord had so disposed, that, to the apprehension of most in both armies, a victory seemed to incline to our side; when, contrary to all appearance, the Lord, by our own negligence, had overthrown us. We have still lien under that stroke, not so much by any active prosecution of the enemy, as by the Lord's hand now upon us, our divisions. A strong party in the north, whom we have excluded from our army for the late engagement, did put themselves in arms without publick order. It cost us some time before we could quiet them. That danger was scarce over, when another party in the west, whom we have permitted to rise, and from whom we expected ready and happy service against the enemy, fell in ways of their own, to our great and long disturbance, which we suppose Cromwell long before this has caused print. Very answers were given, both by the church and state, as you



will read here in the copies subjoined: A while, notwithstanding, they pursued in their diverse way. The enemy fell on them, and put them to a total rout, whereby he enlarged his quarters now where he pleases be-fouth Forth. However our grief and shame for this defeat be great, yet the loss of men was much within 100, and the prisoners are not so many; and among neither, any men of note, but Col. Ker, who is a prisoner. Strachan, indeed, the author of all this mischief, had before foully betrayed his trust, and since has gone unto the enemy.

These mischiefs have laid us now lower in the dust before the Lord. On Sunday next, the 22d of December, we have a general humiliation, most for contempt of the gospel, the fountain of all our plagues. On Thursday thereafter, the 26th, we have another, for the sins of the King's family, old and late, which we fear may have influence in the Lord's controversy with us; yet for all this, we have not cast away our help and confidence in the Lord; but with more vigour than ever we purpose, with all possible diligence, to make use of all the remainder of our forces. The parliament the other week did call together the commission of the church, to be resolved, how far it was lawful to employ, in this case of extreme necessity, these who, for some time, and while we had choice of men, were excluded from the service. The unanimous answer by them present you have here subjoined. By the blessing of God this may be a greater beginning of union among ourselves, and of a more happy acting against the enemy, than formerly. There are indeed some among us against the employing of these who before were excluded; but we hope that in a little time this shall change; so much the more, as in very few, in whom it is greatest, there yet appears the least inclination to comply with the enemy. And to guard the better against this evil, the church, the other day, passed the subsequent act, which the parliament is about to confirm, with a severe civil censure against all transgressors. After our foresaid applications to God on the 22d and 26th of this instant, we have appointed to crown our King, the 1st of January, at Scone, the ordinary place of our old coronations; and thereafter, so soon as we are able, to march with the strength of our nobility and gentry to Stirling, where it will be resolved, whether to go with the body of our army to England, leaving such a party here as to keep and guard the passes  
of



of Forth against the enemy; or, with the body of our army, to attend Cromwell here, and to send Massey to England with some thousand horse and dragoons. To the former the most part incline; but you with the next shall be acquainted with our conclusions. But, in the mean time, the necessity is apparent for the extraordinary diligence of our friends there to procure to us their possible assistance in this our so necessary undertaking for the common safety. The particular way we are thinking on, I leave to another letter, sent herewith, and to the instructions given to the bearer, C. B. whom we have found a faithful, wise, and diligent agent for your desires to us, and whom we hope shall be no less such for our desires to you. We have great need of your earnest intercession with the Lord of Hosts for his powerful concurrence with us in this our great extremity. Expecting this duty of love from you and our dear brethren, I add but this one word, that the brethren there would be careful, as we have been, and purpose still to be, to lay, at this their new beginning, such foundations for their army and parliament, that the leading men in both may be firm and zealous to preserve the covenant, and our former principles, entire without violation: also, if it shall seem good in the Lord's eyes to bless our mutual endeavours, that our friends there may be zealously conscientious, that what progress was made in the assembly of divines for the reformation of religion be not lost, but procured, until a final conclusion, and all be ratified by King and parliament.

Your brother, and servant in the Lord,

JAMESON.

192. *The following letter was at first designed for Mr Dickson, but was enlarged, and sent to Mr Spang.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

I sent the inclosed to you by Mr R. Ramsay, thinking you would have been at the meetings of Stirling and Perth, whither I was resolved not to go, notwithstanding of many earnest intreaties to the contrary; yet, after the dissolving of the meeting at Stirling, I followed to Perth, upon sundry letters from Stirling to me for that effect. Your absence was not well taken by many; though I verily think your presence would not have had more influence on the remonstrants





remonstrants than that of Mess. Douglas, Blair, Cant, Ratherford, Durham, Wood, and others, who could in nothing prevail with them. Of the whole matter, as it comes in my mind, I will give you a simple account, but to yourself alone, and after to the fire; for as in all the meetings I was silent, and a mere spectator, except one forenoon, wherein I in some things declared my mind, so I would desire to meddle as little as may be with this unfortunate strife.

After the woful rout at Dunbar, in the first meeting at Stirling, it was openly and vehemently pressed to have David Lesly laid aside, as long before was designed, but covertly, by the chief purgers of the times. The man himself did as much press as any to have liberty to demit his charge, being covered with shame and discouragement for his late unhappiness, and irritated with Mr James Guthrie's publick invectives against him from the pulpit. The most of the committee of estates, and commission of the kirk, would have been content to let him go; but finding no man tolerably able to supply his place, and the greatest part of the remaining officers of horse and foot peremptory to lay down, if he continued not; and after all trials, finding no maladministration on him to count of, but the removal of the army from the hill the night before the rout, which yet was a consequence of the committee's order, contrary to his mind, to stop the enemy's retreat, and for that end to storm Broxmouth-house as soon as possible. On these considerations, the state, unanimously, did with all earnestness intreat him to keep still his charge. Against this order, my Lord Wariston, and, as I suppose, Sir John Cheesly, did enter their dissent. I am sure Mr James Guthrie did his, at which, as a great impertinency, many were offended. Col. Strachan offered to lay down his charge, being unwilling more to be commanded by D. Lesly. Some more inclined to do so; but all were quieted by this expedient.

Mr Patrick Gillespie, by his diligence with some brethren of the west, had procured a meeting, at Kilmarnock, of some chief gentlemen and ministers of the sherrifdoms of Ayr, Clydesdale, Renfrew, and Galloway, where he persuaded them, for the present necessity, to raise a strength of horse and dragoons, as they had designed in their association, but far above the proportion of any by-gone levy. This conclusion obtained, he persuaded next  
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to put all under the command of four Colonels, the likeliest men to act speedily against the enemy, Ker, Strachan, Robin Halker, and Sir Robert Adair. They made their account to make up the old broken regiments of these four to the number of 4000, beside volunteers. With this voluntary offer, Mr Pat. Gillespie, Sir George Maxwell, and Glanderston, rode to Stirling. However many did smell, and fear the design of a division, yet the offer was so fair, and promises of present acting so great, that easily, even by the Chancellor and Mr Robert Douglas's procurement, they obtained an act of state for all their desires. By this they stopped all mens mouths, and forced them of Renfrew and Carrick to join with them. The committee of Renfrew seeing the vast expences of the enterprise, (for the first rigging out would amount to 500,000 pounds, [L. 41,666 : 13 : 4], and the daily charge to 4000 or 5000 lib. upon the shires foresaid), were generally averse from the motion. My Lord Castles kept off Carrick; Galloway also did disrelish the matter; but the committee of Clydesdale, consisting of a few mean persons, who were totally led by Mr Patrick and Sir John Cheesly, being very forward; the committee of Kyle and Cunningham being persuaded by Mess. J. Nevo, Gabriel Maxwell, and a few more ministers, the act of state supervening, quashed all farther opposition. All of us in our pulpits, myself as much as others, did promote the work. In a very short time 3500 horse are got together, with hopes, by volunteers, to make them above 5000. We were all in expectation of ready and happy acting, by insalls on the enemy's quarters. But behold how all our hopes were soon most miserably blasted! Col. Strachan's scruples were not only about David Lesly's command; for in this his friends had procured him ample enough satisfaction, getting assurance, from the committee of state, that David Lesly should gladly permit the forces of the west to act apart, and never trouble them with any of his orders; but Strachan's scruples went much higher. Since the amendment of his once very lewd life, he inclined much in opinion towards the sectaries; and having joined with Cromwell at Preston against the engagers, had continued with them to the King's death. At that time, by Mr Blair, and our commissioners at London, he was somewhat altered; yet not so far as to join with us in covenant, till, by the great labours of Mr Ja. Guthrie and Mr P. Gillespie, his doubts were



were so far satisfied or smothered, that he was brought to content the commission of the church for that and divers other scandals against him : yet it seems that importunity has made him profess large as much compliance with us as his heart did yield to. His eminent service, first against Pluscardie, and then against Ja. Graham, got him the church's extraordinary favour, to be helped with 100,000 merks out of their purses, for the mounting him a regiment ; the greatest ordering which ever our churchmen made at one time. This did not a little lift his spirit, and get him the far best regiment in the army. With the western recruit, it became stronger than any two regiments in the kingdom. At this time many of his old doubts revive upon him ; which, by the knavery of his Captain-Lieutenant, Govan, and frequent messages of his late friends, Cromwell, and these about him, became so high, that though extraordinary pains were taken upon him, yet he would receive no satisfaction, so far as to act any thing against the enemy, except there might be a treaty. And it appeared therein, that Cromwell was not willing to retire, upon our assurance not to molest England on the King's quarrel, whom he professed to be so far fallen from all his right to England, that, for his wrongs to Scotland, he ought at least to be banished the land, or made a perpetual prisoner.

Strachan's axiom and debates put the whole army and committee of the west in such confusion and discouragement, that all acting against the enemy was impossible. But the matter stood not at this point. In our debates, at the time of the engagement, our publick professions were, of our cleanness to fight against the English sectaries, for vindication of the covenant, and the King's just rights, on the parliament's grant to us of some few desires. Mess. J. Guthrie and Jo. Livingston their whisperings a little in the ear to the contrary, were not then audible. It was strange to me thereafter, when I heard Wariston and Mr Guthrie speak it out, that it would take a long debate to clear from the covenant, the lawfulness of an offensive war against Cromwell and his party ; yet in a short time it appeared, that the quarrel of the King or covenant, or any quarrel tending to war with the English, became to divers more questionable than it wont to be. Whether a fear of the troubles of war, or a despair of conquering the King to the publick, or their own personal interests, or a desire to  
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keep the government, not only in the form, but in the hands it was in, or truly judgement of mind, drew men to those changes of former professed principles, I cannot say; only a great deal of zeal was begun to be practised against all who did smell in any excess of favour towards the King. What strict acts of kirk and state were made against malignancy? What numbers were cast out of their charges in the church, state, and army? What bars were put to their re-admitting? You know too much pleading was for the justice of beheading the King, whatever fault was in the actors. Mr Guthrie and Mr Gillespie's debates were passionate against the proclaiming of the King, till his qualifications for government had first been tried and allowed. You may remember the labour was taken to hinder the addresses to the King; and how like it was to have prevailed, had not the reason, authority, and diligence of Argyle, overswayed it; and, for all that could be said, the voting of Mess. Guthrie, Gillespie, Hutcheson, and Durham, that no commissioner should be sent till a change in the King should appear; and when it was carried to send commissioners, I will not forget the great study of some to make their instructions so rigid, that few had any hope the King would ever assent to them; and when, above hope, the King had yielded to all the commissioners had required, the industry of these same men to get new instructions posted away to Holland, which, had they come thither before the King's imbarcking, were expected by all should have ruined the treaty. Yet when, by the extraordinary favour of God, the King was brought into Scotland, to do what either kirk or state had required; and, upon this agreeance, the noise of Cromwell's march towards us was grown loud, Sir John Cheesly, Hopeton, and Swinton, kept off, by their debates in parliament, the raising of our army so long, that we were near surpris'd; and when our army was got together at Leith, the same men helped, by their continual cross-debates, to keep all in confusion. Their strange affronting of the King at Leith; the putting of him to a new declaration; and, when he stuck but at some hard expressions, concerning the persons of his father and mother; their procuring from the kirk and state that terrible act of disclaiming his interest of the 13th of August; that same night, without the kirk's knowledge, printed it, and sent it to Cromwell with a trumpet.





All these things bred jealousies in the observers, what the intentions of some men might be; yet all was dissembled, till after the defeat at Dunbar these intentions broke out in their actions. So soon as they saw it probable that they were to have a force to be ruled by themselves alone, it became their work to have that army so great, and the other at Stirling so small, as they were able.

Then, in these meetings with Mr Gillespie, where Sir John Cheesly and some three or four burghesses did meet oft and long, propositions of a strange and high nature were in hand, as Robert Lockhart, who sometimes was present, did shew to Argyle and others. The first vent of their motions was at the provincial synod in Glasgow, where Mr Patrick, Mr Hutcheson, Ker, Strachan and others, with much night-waking, brought forth that strange remonstrance of the synod, where Mr Patrick, obtaining a committee to consider the sins procuring the wrath of God on the land, did put such men on it as he liked best, and by them the framing of the draught was put upon himself, who quickly begat that pretty piece which I sent you. It doubtless had been the subject of more discourse, had it not been drowned in the subsequent more absurd one on the same head in the name of the army; for at the very first, it fell on the face of the general assembly and parliament, and condemns both for their first treating with the King, and for the renewing of it in a second address; but most for closing of it without evidence of his real change. Then these most bitter invectives against the state, for which Mr Patrick had used so high language with you and Mr Douglas, in face of the commission, at length are all brought in, with large additions to any thing was then heard. I have oft of late regretted to see the judicatories of the church of the church so easily led to whatever some few of our busy men designed, but never more than in the particular in hand. I am sure the most of that writ was without the knowledge of the most, and against the sense of many, of the brethren. Yet all was voted, *nomine contradicente*, except honest Mr W. Russell, Mr R. Ramsay, and Mr Jo. Bell, spoke a little to some words, but on the matter let all go. Fearing what was in hand, I could speak but little. The night before I expected nothing more should have been pressed but a keeping out engagers from the army. I loved not to appear in contradiction to some violent men; yet my heart

being



being against their conclusion, I was, after much soliciting and prayer, brought to a necessity of contradicting, and had thought on some reasons for that point to have been mainly proponed for my dissent; although I doubt not but my impatience and canker had broken out, if I had heard, which I had never dreamed of, their invectives against the treaties; but the Lord, in a very sensible way to me, carried it so, that neither the synod was troubled with me, nor the peace of my mind by them. I once inclined to absent myself, and had indeed gone out, but behoved to return, not daring to take that course; but behold, when I was ready to go to the synod at that diet when the remonstrance came in, my Lord Castles sent his man to call me to speak with him at his lodging. While we are a little serious about sundry of the publick affairs, I found that more time had gone than either of us had observed, and telling him that my absence from the synod might be mistaken, I took my leave, and with all haste I got up to the church; where I found, at my entry, that all the debates on that paper were closed, and after thrice reading, it was going to the vote. I adored divine providence, who truly beside my purpose, but much to my content, had given me a fair occasion to say nothing of a writ, whereof I never heard a line read. This, for the time, and since, was a satisfactory ground for my silence, to my own mind, in that remonstrance which brought to the consenters, let be the contrivers, but small credit; the commission of the church having so far disavowed it, as for no request they could be induced to countenance it towards the committee of estates; but Mr Patrick behoved to present it himself, without the company of any from that meeting, which would have made a noise, had not the second remonstrance filled the ears of the whole kingdom with a louder sound.

Mr R. Ramsay and others had pressed that for removing of jealousies from many who were then speaking their doubts of some mens intentions, that the officers of the army should put forth a declaration of their designs. To me the motion favoured not. Since the raising of these forces were allowed by the states, all declarations from particular officers seemed needless: yet on the synod's motion to Colonel Ker, a declaration by him and his fellows was promised, and presently gone about by Mr Patrick and the chief associates then present. But, as Mr Patrick told us, it was laid aside by the advice sent them



by Wariston from Stirling, and Mr James Guthrie, betwixt whom and them the posts then and thereafter ran very thick night and day, not so much on that ground, he told us, that they thought it illegal for such private persons to make publick manifestoes, as for that, as I suspect, which he told us not.

About this time the King's head was filled by some unhappy men about him, especially Dr Frazer and Henry Seymour, with many extreme fears. After the affront at Leith, they had raised suspicions in his mind, which, upon the defeat at Dunbar were increased, but by the separate rising in the west brought near to the head of a design to break the treaty with him, and agree upon his expences with Cromwell. Upon these motions the malignants in the north stepped in, and by the forenamed persons began a correspondence for the raising of the north for his present service, under the conduct of Middleton. So many noblemen were on this unhappy enterprise. Crawford was given out for its head and contriver, albeit he professed to me his opposition to it. Lauderdale knew of it; but he has said so far to me, that I believe him he opposed it to his power. However, the thing was so foolishly laid, and the King, by the counsels of these about him, was so various in giving order for that rising, sometimes commanding and then countermanning to rise, that all the party was put in a confusion; yet, by the information of these foresaid fools, the King being put in fear, that Lorn, going timely to bury a soldier, was drawing together his regiment to lay hands on him, contrary to his former resolutions; he took horse with some two or three, as if it had been to go a hawking, but crossed Tay, and stayed not till he came to Clowe in Angus. By the way he repented of the journey, and meeting with Lauderdale at Diddup, and Balcarras coming from Dundee by accident, was almost persuaded by them to return; yet by Diddup and Buchan he was kept in Clowe. But when he came to that miserably-accommodated house, and in place of the great promised forces, he saw nothing but a small company of highlanders, he presently sent for Robert Montgomery, who was near with his regiment, and without more ado, did willingly return, exceedingly confounded and dejected for that ill-advised start. When it was first blazed abroad, it filled all good men with great grief, and to my own heart it brought one of the most sensible



sensible sorrows that in all my life I had felt. Yet his quick return of his own accord, and his readiness to give all satisfaction for that failure, and his kind receiving by the committee of states, among whom he ever sat after his return, (though never before), turned our grief suddenly into joy, his absence not lasting above two full days. Yet all men were not so soon satisfied.

Sundry of them who had been on the plot, fearing a discovery and punishment, flew to arms; Lewis Gordon, Ogilvie, Athol, and others, under Middleton's command, putting out a number of fair pretexs for their rising. This might have destroyed all; yet, by God's mercy, all was quickly quieted. D. Lellie, with all his horse, marched towards them; the King wrote earnestly to them to lay down. The committee of estates sent a fair act of indemnity, and so without more ado they went home. Mr Jams Guthrie had well near marred this peace; he moved Middleton's summar excommunication. Mr R. Douglas, and most number present, were against it; yet Mr James and Mr Patrick, by two or three votes of elders, obtained it. And though the committee of estates, by an earnest letter, intreated Mr James to delay a little the execution, yet on the next sabbath he executed the sentence, to the regret of many.

When the northern storm was ended, the western winds began to blow the louder. I told their declaration was kept in by advice from Stirling, as many thought, to make vantage of the new failings at court; for these were looked on with a greedy eye, and exaggerated to the height of truth. When, with a great deal of expences and trouble, our forces in the west were levied, and present action against Cromwell promised and expected, their very first march is to Dumfries, the farthest place they were able to chuse from the enemy's quarters. The pretence was to attend the motion of the enemy coming from Carlisle; but when the party which went from Edinburgh to fight them, neither in the going nor coming, was looked upon, nor any good at all done by that long march, but the hazarding the country, and the spoiling of a number of noblemen and gentlemen of their saddle-horse, and lying still at Glasgow, while Cromwell took up Glasgow. This made it visible they had some other thing in hand than to mind the enemy. By their earnest mis-sives they had brought Wariston from Stirling to Dumfries.





fries. There, after some debate, the draught of the remonstrance is brought to some perfection, you see. It seems one main end of both remonstrances was to satisfy Strachan, and for that end they came up well near to his full length about the King and the state, the malignants and England. For in this last paper they are clear in condemning the treaty as sinful, and notwithstanding of it to suspend the King's government till he should give satisfactory evidence of his real change, whereof they were to be judges, who were never like to be satisfied, although they were never like to be troubled with the judging of these signs; for the King who had started away upon the suspicion of these things, upon the sight of them in an army-remonstrance, was not like to stay; so on this escape the government of the kingdom, and the distribution of the royal rent in new pensions, all the former being void, fell in our own hand; and if the King should have ventured to stay, then an effectual course was moved to be taken with him to keep him from joining with malignants, which could not be but by a strong guard or imprisonment; albeit this was needless, if the course against malignants had been taken to put them out of all capacity to hurt the people and cause of God; for this could not be but by executing, forfaiting, and imprisoning of the chief of them, as we thought fit.

As for our present state, so many and gross faults were pressed against Argyle, the Chancellor, Lothian, Balcarras, and others, that in all reason they behoved to be laid aside, and our state modelled of new; so that no active nobleman should have any hand therein; and as for England, they might rest secure of our armies, not only till church and state should agree on the lawfulness and expediency of that war was found, but also a clear call from England should appear; and if we could not mar the one, and Cromwell the other, yet we behoved to move nothing of bringing this King to England, whom we had found unmeet to govern Scotland, and though thereafter he should change never so much to the better, yet it was injustice for us to meddle with a kingdom not subordinate to us. Thus far the remonstrance went on, and closed with a solemn engagement on all their hearts, if God blessed their armies, to see all these things performed. I have oft marvelled that Strachan remained dissatisfied for all this; for I verily think, whatever he or  
Cromwell



Cromwell could have desired in Scotland, would easily have followed upon the former premises.

While these things are a-doing at Dumfries, Cromwell, with the whole body of his army and cannon, comes peaceably by the way of Kilsyth to Glasgow. The magistrates and ministers fled all away. I got to the isle of Cumray, with my Lady Montgomery, but left all my family and goods to Cromwell's courtesy, which indeed was great; for he took such a course with his soldiers, that they did less displeasure at Glasgow than if they had been at London, though Mr Zachary Boyd railed on them all to their very face in the High Church. I took this extraordinary favour, from their coming alone to gain the people, and to please Strachan, with whom he was then keeping correspondence, and by whom he had great hopes to draw over the western army, at least to a cessation with him; as indeed he brought them by his means to be altogether useless; though, on a report of their march towards Edinburgh, he left the west in a great suddeny and demi-disorder.

So soon as the remonstrance was perfected, and all present at Dumfries professed their assent to it, except Strachan, conceiving it to be too low for his meridian, Mr Patrick and Mr John Stirling, with some of the gentlemen, went along with it to Stirling, and Wariston in their company. The commission of the kirk refused to meddle with it; only Mr Robert Douglas wrote to the presbyteries to send to the next meeting at Stirling, with their commissioners of the church, some more of their number, of greatest experience and wisdom, to advise in matters of great importance. The committee of estates, by Wariston's means, at their first presenting, put no affront upon it; but what was a very dangerous error, gave too good words to the carriers; and, to allure them to action against the enemy, increased their forces, by joining with them the dragoons of Niddisdale and the Lennox; and over-seeing also the feathers which they had drawn out of the Stirling's wing, the putting them in hopes to get the Stirling's nest, which made them march quickly west to Partick, in order to Stirling, thinking that Lesly and Middleton should have been in others flesh in the north: but to their open discontent, the northern storm being composed, and D. Lesly returned to Stirling, they turned their heads another way.

When,



When, after my return to Glasgow, I saw their remonstrance, and Cromwell's letter thereupon, on the occasion of Strachan's queries, requiring a treaty, which at that same time he sent his prisoners, Mr Jaffray and Mr Carstairs, to agent, I was sore grieved, but knew not how to help it; only I sent the copies of all, with express bearers to Argyle and you at Inverary, and to the Chancellor at Perth, and Mr James Ferguson at Kilwinning, with my best advice to you all, and resolved myself to keep the next meeting of the commission on the call of their letter, to declare my dissent, if I could do no more. But behold, the next presbytery-day, when I am absent, Mr Patrick causes read again the commission's letter, and had led it so, that by the elders votes, the men of greatest experience and wisdom of our presbytery were the two youngest we had, Mr Hugh Binning and Mr Andrew Morton. Then when it was pressed that I might be but added to them, it was, by a vote, refused, upon supposition it was needless, being clear I would doubtless go howsoever. These despightful votes wrought so on my mind when I heard of them, that I resolved not to go, for all that could be said to me by many of the brethren; yet the clerk of the commission, at the moderator's direction, writing a pressing letter to me from Stirling, I went along to Perth; where, by God's good providence, I have staid since for many good purposes.

At the meeting of Stirling, there was a conference appointed of the chief members of the committee of estates, and commissioners of the church, on the remonstrance; wherein there were many high words about it betwixt Warriston and Mr R. Douglas, Mr R. Ramsay and Mr P. Gillespie, Mr James Wood and Mr James Guthrie, and others. No appearance there was of any issue. The time of parliament at Perth drawing near, the King, by his letter, invited the meeting of church and state to Perth. The desire of many was but to have some agreement before, if no other way were possible, as none appeared, that the remonstrance might be laid aside, and much of the matter of it be pressed in an orderly way by the commission of the kirk, and the forces of the west be joined with these at Stirling; since, for so long a time, they had acted nothing apart, and never like to act any thing for any purpose alone. The remonstrants were averse from these motions; so all was laid aside till they came to Perth: at  
2 which



which time a new conference was appointed, and four whole days kept in Argyle's chamber. I then, and thereafter, was witness to all, and little more than a witness; for not being a commissioner, I thought meet to be silent. For the one side, Mr Patrick and Wariston spoke most; for the other, Argyle, the Chancellor, the Advocate, and Mr Douglas: but Mr Wood spoke most, and to best purpose. Mr Rutherford and Mr Durham said some little for sundry points of the remonstrance. Mr James Guthrie, most ingenuously and freely, vented his mind; for the principal point, (as he avowed he had oft before maintained), "That the close of our treaty was a sin, to promise  
" any power to the King before he had evidenced the  
" change of his principles; and the continuing that power  
" in his hand was sinful till that change did appear;" though it was visible, that every day the kingdom languished under these debates, which impeded all action. There was no remedy. By no persuasion the remonstrance could be taken up; yea, the gentlemen gave in a petition to the estates at Perth, in the presence of the King, urging the answer thereof; from which petition they would not pass: yea, when they were most earnestly dealt with to conjoin their forces, all that could be obtained, both by publick and divers private entreaties of their best friends, Argyle and others, there was a willingness to join on two conditions: The first was, an express laying aside of the King's quarrel in the state of the question; the other, to keep none in the army of Stirling but according to the qualifications in the act of parliament. When in these two all of the gentlemen and officers were found peremptory, the conference on Friday, the fourth day of it, was broken off as fruitless; though, for their satisfaction, the parliament had been shifted from the Wednesday to the Friday, and from the Friday to the Tuesday again, for all the illue of blood, and starving, that was every day visible over the kingdom. Before the meeting, the remonstrants had a solemn meeting at Glasgow, by Mr Patrick's call, where, the subscribing of the remonstrance was much pressed on the great committee of gentlemen and officers, by the ministers, who sat apart in the tolbooth, and called themselves the presbytery of the western army. That subscription was generally declined, and by no persuasion any more could be obtained, nor a warrant, subscribed by Crossbie, the president of the committee, to





some few commissioners, to present the remonstrance to the state. Mr Robert Ramsay, fore against my mind, offered, in his own and my name, once and again, to come and debate, in their presence, with the brethren, the injustice of that remonstrance. This offer was told them in the committee. All the answer it got was, that no man was excluded to come and propone what they pleased. Upon such entertainment we let them alone. Here it was where Strachan, before having laid down his charge, was commanded to go no more to the regiment; but he told them expressly, he could not obey. Some would have been at laying him fast, for fear of his going to the enemy; but lest that Ker and many more should thereby have been provoked, they let him alone. Govan, for his known correspondence with the enemy, was cashiered, and their scout-master Dundas also. Sundry of the officers were suspected to be of Strachan's principles, albeit the most went not beyond the remonstrance.

When the conference was broken off, the committee of state went about their answer to the petitioners, and there began debate. The most found the matter high treason; the divesting the King of his authority; the breaking of the treaty approved by kirk and state; the slandering highly of the judicatories; and engaging of private men to change the government. The deepness of these crimes troubled the judges; the respect the most of them had to the persons guilty, moving them to go far lower than the writ's deserving, and all of them being resolved to make no more of it than was in the committee's power to pardon; they went therefore no higher in the censure than you have in the sentence; from which yet near fifteen dissented for one or other word, though all professed their disallowance of the writ. This dissent was in the King's presence. If he had been absent, as some would have persuaded him, the dissenting might have been greater; for Wariston was very long and passionate in his exhortation to wave it simply, which had been very unhandsome, since the parties peremptorily refused to take it up. At the sentence, the gentlemen stormed, but the ministers much more. It came next to the commission of the church. The states had given in their sense to them, and required the kirk's judgement. Here came the vehement opposition. The remonstrants petitioned to have the present consideration thereof laid aside, lest the parties should  
be



be discouraged to act against the enemy. Mr Rutherford pressed this with much more passion than reason, and Mr Guthrie also. Here it was where I spoke but so much as declared my sense against the thing. Much dealing was still to take it up. Mess. Cant, Blair, Rutherford, and Durham, were sent to persuade them; but Mr Patrick was peremptory to shew their willingness to quit their life rather than their testimony. So when there was no remedy, at last, by Mr Douglas and Mr James Wood's industry most, it came to that mild sentence which you see here subscribed. With it the parties were highly offended, and entered their loud protestation. Mr Blair came in the hinder end. He and you, by your letters, had signified your judgement much averse from the remonstrance; which in a scolding way was cried out by Mr John Nevo in Mr Blair's face: to which he replied nothing. Mr David Bennet and Mr Hugh Peebles expressed themselves bitterly, and were answered accordingly by others. Our Provost, George, spoke in his protestation of something like sealing the remonstrance with his blood. All of them went out of town highly discontent; though as little occasion was given them as possibly could be, either by church, or state, or any person. I thought the separation exceeding unhappy, both to our west country and to the whole kingdom, but remediless, God giving over the chief misleaders, who had oppressed, to my grief, many others, to follow their own sense in that which the rest of us thought a high and dangerous sin.

Mr Patrick and Mr James Guthrie, where-ever they came, uttered their passion. I heard one who had married Mr Patrick's sister's daughter, report to Mr Douglas, that Mr Hugh Binning, with Mr Patrick, in Kirkcaldy, had spoke like a distracted man, saying to Mr Douglas's own wife, and the young man himself, and his mother-in-law, Mr Patrick's sister, "That the commission of the  
" kirk would approve nothing that was right; that a hy-  
" pocrite ought not to reign over us; that we ought to  
" treat with Cromwell, and give him security not to trou-  
" ble England with a King; and whoever marred this  
" treaty, the blood of the slain in this quarrel should be  
" on their heads!" Strange words, if true. Always be-  
hold the fearful consequence of that pride of stomach.  
The state sent Col. Robert Montgomery west, to join the  
best part of the horse they had with the western forces, or



any part of them that would join with him. For this end, he spoke with the commissioners of the west, at Stirling, who had been at Perth; but they shewed great averfeness at any such junction. He wrote also to Ker for this effect, and marched towards Glasgow. On the Sunday at night he came to Campsie; but on the Saturday, Ker, with all his forces, lying at Carmunock, resolves to prevent Col. Robert's approach, and by themselves to make an infall on the English before day.

Our intelligence was, that the English at Hamilton were but 1200; but Lambert lay there, with above 3000 of their best horse. They called ours above 1500; but some double the number: for of all their forces, there was not above four or five of Strachan's troops away. Some speak of treachery; for Govan, for all his cashiering, was re-admitted by Ker on fair promises. Strachan was not far off. It is certain when, at four o'clock in the morning, December 1. our men came to set on, the enemy were ready to receive them, having sounded to horse half an hour before, as it were for a march to Glasgow. All speak of a great rashness, as in an anger, or what else, to cast away these forces. Lieut.-Col. Ralston, with a small party of horse, entered Hamilton, and most gallantly carried all before him, killed sundry; some spoke of hundreds, other are within scores; however, he cleared the town of the enemy. Col. Ker, with fewer than 200, seconded him well; but at the end of the town, where the body of the English drew up again in the field at the back of a ditch, when Ker saw it not easy to pass, he retired a little, which they behind took for a flight, and all turned their backs; yea, the whole rest fled apart; not one would stay. The English pursued as far as Paisley and Kilmarnock that day; yet very few were killed. Some say, scarce twenty; not above eighty prisoners, whereof Col. Ker made one; as some say, deadly, as others, slightly wounded. Argyle said to me, he might have escaped if he would. The next day, 200 or 300, who rallied in Kyle, by Strachan's persuasion disbanded; and himself, as fearing to be taken by us, went in to Cromwell, with Swinton, whose first work was, to agent the rendering the castle of Edinburgh, with their dear comrade young Dundas, who most basely, and, as yet it is taken, treacherously, gave over that most considerable strength of our kingdom. But of this more certainly afterwards.

The



The miscarriage of affairs in the west by a few unhappy men, put us all under the foot of the enemy. They presently ran over all the country, without any stop, destroying cattle and corn, putting Glasgow and all others under grievous contributions. This makes me yet to stick at Perth, not daring to go where the enemy is master, as now he is of all Scotland beyond Forth, [i. e. besouth Forth], not so much by his own virtue as our vices. The loss of the west, the magazine of our best forces, put the state presently to new thoughts. We had long many debates about employing malignants in our armies. Some were of opinion that the acts of church and state were unjust, and for particular ends, from the beginning. All agreed, that common soldiers, after satisfaction to the church, might be taken in; but as for officers, noblemen and gentlemen volunteers, that we were not to take them in at all, at least not without an eminent degree of evident repentance. The most thought they might be employed as soldiers, on their admittance by the church to the sacrament and covenant. As for places of counsel and trust, that this was to be left to the state's discretion. However, when the case was clearly altered, and now there was no choice of men, the parliament wrote to Mr Robert Douglas to call the commission extraordinary. A quorum was got, most of these of Fife. The question was proponed, of the lawfulness of employing such who before were excluded. The question was alledged to be altered from that which Mr Gillespie writes of, and that whereto Mr Guthrie had solemnly engaged, a defence of our lives and country, in extreme necessity, against sectarians and strangers, who had twice been victors. My heart was in great perplexity for this question. I was much in prayer to God, and in some action with men, for a concord in it. The parliament was necessitated to employ more than before, or give over their defence. Mr Samuel Rutherford and Mr James Guthrie wrote peremptory letters to the old way, on all hazards. Mr Douglas and Mr D. Dick had of a long time been in my sense, that in the war against invading strangers, our former strictness had been unadvised and unjust. Mr Blair and Mr Durham were a little ambiguous, which I much feared should have divided the commission; and likely had done so, if with the loss of the west, the absence of all the brethren of the west had not concurred.

However,





However, we carried unanimously at last the answer herewith sent to you. My joy for this was soon tempered when I saw the consequence, the loathing of sundry good people to see numbers of grievous bloodshedders ready to come in, and so many malignant noblemen as were not like to lay down arms till they were put into some places of trust, and restored to their vote in parliament. Against this necessity for our very being, and hope that the guides of our state would, by their wisdom and virtue, and adherence of the church and good men, get kept what they had of authority, the Chancellor oft remembering us, that in this there was a great alteration of the case, that the King being now in covenant, the most whose malignancy stood in their following the King against the covenant, were no more to be counted malignants, the fountain of that evil being stopped in them, there was just ground why that blot and name of distinction in that respect should be now abolished. Another inconvenience was like to trouble us, a seed of Hyper-Brounism, which had been secretly sown in the minds of sundry of the soldiers, that it was unlawful to join in arms with such and such men, and so that they were necessitated to make a civil separation from such, for fear of sin, and cursing of their enterprises. The main fomenters of these doubts seemed not at all to be led by conscience, but by interest; for the officers of our standing army, since the defeat at Dunbar, being sent to recruit the regiments in the northern shires, little increased that number, but taking large money for men, and yet exacted quarters for men which were not; this vexed the country, and disappointed the service. The officers, by the new levies, thought it easy to be recruited at their pleasure; but an act passing, that the new levies should not recruit the old regiments, they stormed, and gladly would have blasted the new way for their own ends. Under these evils we wrestle as yet, but hope for a good end of these divisions also. In the mean time Cromwell is daily expected to march towards Stirling to mar the coronation, which, fore against my heart, was delayed to the first of January, on pretence of keeping a fast for the sins of the King's family on Thursday next. We mourned on Monday last for the contempt of the gospel, according to Mr Dickson's motion, branched out by Mr Wood. Also you see in the printed papers, upon other particulars the commission at Stirling, which



which appointed these fasts, could not agree. The remonstrants pressed to have sundry sins acknowledged which others denied, and would not now permit them to set down as they would what causes of fast they liked. Surely we had never more need of mourning, be the causes, what God knows, visible or invisible, confessed or denied, seen or unseen, by all but the most guilty. It cannot be denied but our miseries and dangers of ruin are greater than for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy master of our seas, and for some good time of the best part of our land; our standing forces against this his imminent invasion, few, weak, inconsiderable; our kirk, state, army, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of our people be south Forth spoiled, and near starving; the be north Forth extremely ill-used by a handful of our own; many inclining to treat and agree with Cromwell, without care either of King or covenant; none of our neighbours called upon by us, or willing to give us any help, though called. What the end of all shall be, the Lord knows. Many are ready to faint with discouragement and despair; yet divers are waiting on the Lord, expecting he will help us in our great extremity against our most unjust oppressors.

I hope you received my last inclosed in Callender's packet. You have here a large narration of many of our proceedings. When I began to write it, my intention was for Mr D. Dick; but a little after I had begun, finding this bearer going towards you, I enlarged my letter. For your haste and want of good instruments for the time, makes the writ, I fear, illegible; but guess at it as you may. You have with it the copy of a letter of mine to our friends in England, which for a time keep secret to yourself alone. I send you also a copy of divers other writs, which I think you may desire to see.

This day we have done that what I earnestly desired, and long expected, crowned our noble King with all the solemnities at Scone, so peaceably and magnificently as if no enemy had been among us. This is of God: for it was Cromwell's purpose, which I thought easily he might have performed, to have marred by arms that action, at least the solemnity of it. The remonstrants, with all their power, would have opposed it: others prolonged it so long as they were able. Always, blessed be God, it is this day celebrated with great joy and contentment to all honest-



honest-hearted men here. Mr Douglas, from 2 Kings xi. Joash's coronation, had a very pertinent, wise, and good sermon. The King swore the covenant, the league and covenant, the coronation-oath. When Argyle put on the crown, Mr Douglas prayed well; when the Chancellor set him on the throne, he exhorted well; when all were ended, he, with great earnestness pressed sincerity and constancy in the covenant on the King, delating at length King James's breach of the covenant, pursued yet against the family, from Neh. v. 13. God's casting the King out of his lap, and the 34th of Jeremiah, many plagues on him if he did not sincerely keep the oaths now taken. He closed all with a prayer, and the 20th psalm.

Dundas and Major Abernethy have most basely delivered the castle of Edinburgh to Cromwell. All the ministers saw the treachery, and protested against it. Wariston, Sir John Cheesly, and the Provost of Edinburgh, who put them in that trust, contrary to the minds of others, have little credit by it.

Now the parliament having, by the needless length of some, sat so long, ended their session on Monday after twelve at night. None of the remonstrants are on the committee of estates. Wariston, with great difficulty, was got on. All diligence will now be used to get up an army. The Lord be with us. Our greatest danger will be from famine. Now get victuals to starving Ireland. It were an happy benefit if your Hollanders would bring us in victual for money. The Spaniard, nor any other, could never, by their persuasion nor force, hinder them to trade where-ever they find gain. Is not this a strange slavery now, our love to the English murderers, that they for their pleasure should give over all trade with us their brethren and well-deserving friends? Though we should never be able to revenge their ingratitude, yet there is a God who will see to it. Our case will be exceeding hard if, before the summer, your Zealanders, on piety and pity, be not moved to bring us victuals for all the money we have resting; though it may be the Lord may be pleased to open some other door which yet is not visible to us.

*Perth, January 2. 1651.*

P. S. I think to-morrow we shall give order to excommunicate



municate Strachan, and relax Middleton the next sabbath. By the coming of some, all engaging officers and noblemen were all purged out of our army; but now I think all of them, without any considerable exception, are received. On this necessary conclusion, some turbulent men are like to be factious; but to-morrow a warning is to be put out for their reclaiming if possible. By God's blessing, our affairs shortly may be in a better posture. Our great troublers, both in church and state, have set themselves aside. If God give us over to Cromwell, we expect little good from these men but a violent executing of all in their remonstrance; but otherwise I think they may be brought quickly to repeat their needless quarrelling. However, the Lord's will be done, who has begun to comfort us with the smallest appearance of better hopes.

193. *For His Reverend and Dear Brother, Mr Calamy, minister at London. Glasgow, July 27. 1653.*

Reverend and Dear Brother,

THIS my third to you is only to give thanks for your kind acceptance, and answering indeed, of my two former. Mr Wilkie, our commissioner, has reported so much of your care to us, to promote to the uttermost of your power the charitable supply of our distressed people, that all of us are much obliged to bless God in your behalf, who has made you instrumental to procure a liberal support, both in your own congregation, and over all the city, to the many families of this wracked people with that strangest fire that ever was heard of in our land. I am confident enough of your readiness to go on for the perfecting of what is so well begun, even to give your best advice and assistance to this same gentleman, whom we have sent again, with some others, to receive, in the city and country, what shall be freely offered by the pious benevolence of those whose hearts God shall stir up, by you and your brethren, to contribute to that work of compassion and charity.

At this time I have no more to add, but this one word, to let you know, That on the 20th of July last, when our general assembly was set in the ordinary time and place, Lieutenant-Colonel Cottrell beset the church with some rates of musqueteers and a troop of horse. Him-





self (after our fast, wherein Mr Dickson and Mr Douglas had two gracious sermons) entered the assembly-house; and, immediately after Mr Dickson the Moderator his prayer, required audience; wherein he inquired, If we did sit there by the authority of the parliament of the commonwealth of England? or of the commanders in chief of the English forces? or of the English judges in Scotland? The Moderator replied, That we were an ecclesiastick synod, an spiritual court of Jesus Christ, which meddled not with any thing civil; that our authority was from God, and established by the laws of the land yet standing unrepealed; that by the Solemn League and Covenant, the most of the English army stood obliged to defend our general assembly. When some speeches of this kind had passed, the Lieutenant-Colonel told us, his order was, to dissolve us. Whereupon he commanded all of us to follow him; else he would drag us out of the room. When we had entered a protestation of this unheard-of and unexampled violence, we did rise, and follow him. He led us all through the whole streets a mile out of the town, encompassing us with foot-companies of musqueteers, and horsemen without; all the people gazing and mourning as at the saddest spectacle they had ever seen. When he had led us a mile without the town, he then declared what further he had in commission, That we should not dare to meet any more above three in number; and that against eight o'clock to-morrow, we should depart the town, under pain of being guilty of breaking the publick peace: And the day following, by sound of trumpet, we were commanded off the town, under the pain or present imprisonment. Thus our general assembly, the glory and strength of our church upon earth, is by your soldiery crushed and trode under foot, without the least provocation from us, at this time, either in word or deed. For this our hearts are sad, our eyes run down with water, we sigh to God against whom we have sinned, and wait for the help of his hand; but from those who oppressed us we deserved no evil. We hear a noise of further orders, to discharge all our synods and presbyteries, and all prayer for our King. Many the most moderate reckon such orders will make havock of our church, and raise against many the best men we have, a fore persecution; which, God willing, we purpose to endure with all patience and faith, giving just offence to none.



I detain you no more. The Lord mind his Zion in these lands, and bless you, who for the time stand in the most eminent pinnacle thereof. Thus rests,

Your Brother to serve you,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

194. *To Mr William Spang. July 19. 1654.*

Cousin,

I think you marvel not at my long and universal silence. War being flaming betwixt the lands of our abode, though neither you nor I have any interest therein, yet the passage being stopped, or difficult, and all correspondence betwixt any in these and thir parts being liable to misconstruction, I chose rather to be silent than for that time to write any. But now the peace being subscribed, and ready to be proclaimed, I resume my old way of letting you know the true condition of myself, our college, church, and country; expecting the like from you of your affairs there, and of the world abroad, at your first opportunity.

As for our church-affairs, thus they stand. The parliament of England had given to the English judges and sequestrators a very ample commission to put out and in ministers as they saw cause, to plant and displant our universities. According to this power, they put Mr John Row in Aberdeen, Mr Robert Leighton in Edinburgh, Mr Patrick Gillespie in Glasgow, and Mr Samuel Colvill they offered to the Old College of St Andrew's. This last is yet held off; but the other three act as Principals. All our colleges are quickly like to be undone. Our churches are in great confusion. No intrant gets any stipend till he have petitioned and subscribed some acknowledgement to the English. When a very few of the remonstrants and Independent party will call a man, he gets the kirk and the stipend; but whom the presbytery, and well near the whole congregation, calls and admits, he must preach in the fields, or in a barn, without stipend. So a sectary is planted in Kilbride, another in Lenzie, [or Kirkintilloch], and this guyle will grow rife, to the wrack of many a soul.

We thought at the general assembly to have got some course for this; but Colonel Lilburn, the commander in chief, gave orders to soldiers to break our assembly before



it was constituted, to the exceeding great grief of all, except the remonstrants, who insulted upon it; the English violence having trysted with their protestation against it. Since that time we have had no meeting for the whole church, not so much as for counsel, though the remonstrants have met oft, and are like to set up a commission and assembly of their own for very ill purposes. They are most bitter against those who adhere to their covenant in the matter of the King and assembly. They are as bent as ever to purge the church. To punish men truly deserving censure, we are as willing as they; but their purging is, for common, a very injurious oppression. Sundry of them fall openly to the English errors, both of church and state, and many more are near to that evil; yet Lord Wariston, Mr James Guthrie, and others, still profess their great aversion to the English way: however, their great aversion of the King, and of the late assemblies, and their zeal to make up the church and army, and places of trust, only of the godly party, (that is, their own confidants), make them dear and precious men to the English, do or say what they will, and their opposites but rascally malignants. This makes them exceeding bold, knowing of their back; and were it not for a few more moderate men among them, they, before this, would have played strange pranks. However, they are going on pretty fast. Their wracking of the congregation of Lenzie, and dividing of the presbytery of Glasgow, their doing the like in the congregation and presbytery of Linlithgow, you heard long ago; also what they have done in Bathgate, and sundry parts of the south. I will only give some account of their last dealings.

From their meeting in Edinburgh they were instructed to have monthly fasts and communions. They excluded more than the half of those who were ordinarily admitted. Six or seven ministers, leaving their own congregations desolate, were about the action. Numbers of strangers flocked to these meetings. At their fasts, four or five ministers of their best preachers in the bounds exercised from morning to even. The great design of this was evidently but to increase their party; whereof yet in most places they missed. Always the word went, that they purposed to put up committees, for purging and planting every where as they thought fit. I was so charitable as not to suspect them of any such purpose, when the land was full



of confusion and danger; yet I found myself disappointed; for at our synod, the moderator's sermon ran on the necessity of taking up the too-long neglected work of purging. The man's vehemency in this, and in his prayer, a strange kind of sighing, the like whereof I had never heard, as a pythonising out of the belly of a second person, made me amazed. To prevent this foolish and cruel enterprise, we pressed, in the entry of the synod, that in these times of confusion we might be assured of peace till the next synod, as we had been in the three former synods. We intimated our great willingness to cast out of the ministry all whom we conceived either unfit for weakness, or scandalous; but a synod so divided in judgement as we were, we conceived very unfit for any such work. When we found our desire flatly refused, and perceived a clear design to set up presently their tyrannous committees, we, as we had resolved beforehand, and were advised by the ministry of Edinburgh, and others of our mind, required them, that our synod might be rightly constitute; that ministers censured by the general assembly, and elders notoriously opposite to the last three general assemblies, might have no voice. When this was flatly refused, we shewed we were necessitated to sit by ourselves, and leave them in their separation from the general assembly and church of Scotland. When, by all we could say, nothing could be obtained, all of us who adhered to the general assembly, went to the Blackfriars, and there kept the synod, leaving our protestation with them. Some brethren travelled all the next day for an union. We offered it gladly, on condition, that they would be content for this time of the land's trouble and danger, to leave all meddling with things controverted, or else to constitute according to the act of the general assembly. When neither could be obtained, (as you may see in the paper of mediation), we constituted ourselves in a synod by an act; and when we had appointed a fast, we closed, to meet at Irvine the next diet. To our absent brethren we sent a letter, and an information of our proceedings to the neighbouring synods of Lothian, Galloway, Argyll; also Fife, Perth, and the Mers.

The remonstrants chose Mr William Guthrie for their moderator, and one James Porter, a devoted servant of their party, for clerk; named a committee of their most forward men to go immediately to Lanark, to purge and





plant as they found cause; sent two of their gentlemen, Sir George Maxwell and Walkingshaw, with the help of their good friend Dogs, and Commissary Lockhart. Mr Somerville, and Mr Jack; and, when they prevailed not, two of their ministers, Mr William Somerville, and Mr William Jack, went to the Governor of Glasgow, Col. Couper, for a troop of horse to guard them at Lanerk and Douglas. Some of them, to their power, fomented a very injurious scandal on Mr Robert Hume, whom we had made minister at Crawfordjohn contrary to their mind; their committee laboured to their power to try that their own invention; but failed therein. There is an old man, Mr John Veitch, minister of Robertson, they sent two or three ministers of their number to hear him preach. On their report, they pronounced a sentence of deposition on him as insufficient. But their chief work was at Douglas. The noblemen, gentlemen, whole heritors, people, and session, unanimously had called Mr Archibald Inglis, a very good and able youth, to his father's place. They stirred up some of the elders, who subscribed a call to the young man, to desire his trials might be before the united presbytery, and not before our part of it, from which the remonstrants had separated. This motion they so fomented, that these few elders, with a very few of the people, were moved by them, contrary to all the congregation, to give a call to a silly young man, a mere stranger, from Fife, one Mr Francis Kidd, who had never been heard nor seen in the bounds. This man they bring to the kirk on the Sunday. When the people refused to let him or them enter, he preached on a brae-side to some strangers and a few of the people of Douglas, and even these run away from hearing of him, except a very few of them. Sermon ended, they sent one to read an edict at the church-door, who refused to give a copy of what he read. Without more ado, on Monday morning, they passed all his trials in one hour, and came to the church of Douglas in the afternoon to give him imposition of hands. The body of the people and heritors hindered their coming into the church and church-yard; whereupon they sent once and again for their English guard. By all their importunity they could get none of the troop to countenance them, except twelve, with the Lieutenant. By the power of their sword, as was avowed on all hands, on a brae-side, without preaching, they admitted him minister of Douglas:



Douglas: An abominable example, generally much abhorred, which shews what we may expect from that party. Our synod appointed some to join with the true presbytery of Lanerk; which met the week thereafter; tried, with all accuracy possible, what could be found in the scandal of Mr Hume; found nothing but malice of some parties, fomented by ministers; with the unanimous consent of the people of Robertson, strengthened the minister, and appointed a helper to be settled there in an orderly way; admitted to the church of Douglas Mr Archibald Inglis, after all trials duly performed, with the blessings and tears of the congregation. Possibly they will procure an order from the English, that the stipend and church shall go to Mr Kidd, and his twelve or sixteen followers, and Mr Inglis shall be tolerated, with much ado, to preach to the whole congregation, Marquis of Douglas, Earl of Angus, whole heritors and people, in the fields, or a barn, without a stipend of stipend.

In this glass see our condition. It is so in sundry congregations already, and like to be so in many more; not so much through the violence of the English, as the unreasonable headiness of the remonstrants, which for the time is remediless; and we, for fear of worse from their very evil humour, give way to permit them to plant divers churches as they like best. This formed schism is very bitter to us, but remediless, except on intolerable conditions, which no wise orthodox divine will advise us to accept: We must embrace without contradiction, and let grow, the principles of the remonstrants, which all Reformed divines, and all states in the whole world abhor; we must permit a few heady men to waste our church with our consent or connivance; we must let them frame our people to the Sectarian model; a few more forward ones joined among themselves by privy meetings to be the godly party, and the congregation, the rest, to be the rascally malignant multitude: so that the body of our people are to be cast out of all churches; and the few who are countenanced, are fitted, as sundry of them already have done, to embrace the errors of the time for their destruction. Against these abominations we strive so much, and so wisely, as we can. Mr R. Douglas, Mr Dickson, and others, have yet got Edinburgh right. The faction which Mr Robert Traill and Mr John Stirling have there is inconsiderable. Mr R. Blair and Mr J. Wood keep St Andrew's



drew's and Fife pretty right. Mr Rutherford, to the uttermost of his power, advances the other party. Mr John Robertson and Mr William Rate get Angus and Dundee right; but the naturally heady men of Aberdeen are come to the full design too soon; yet the body of the people and country are right. In this Mr J. Guthrie in Stirling comes but small speed: albeit his confident Sir William Bruce of Stenhouse be made the English sheriff in Linlithgowshire, they have used great violence, imprisoned their chief opposite Mr John Waugh, forced a silly man into the ministry of Linlithgow, and another on Bathgate, contrary to all the synod of Lothian could do; yet the body of the people there is flat against them. Their greatest prevalency is with us in Glasgow, which comes much more by Mr James Durham's professed neutrality, but real joining with most of the other's designs, and Mr John Carstairs's zeal, than any thing that Mr Patrick Gillespie had done, or could do, by himself. This is the pitiful condition of our church, which is but going on from evil to worse till the Lord remeid it.

As for our state, this is its case. Our nobility are well near all wracked. Dukes Hamilton, the one executed, the other slain; their estate forfeited; one part of it gifted to English soldiers; the rest will not pay the debt; little left to the heretrix; almost the whole name undone with debt. Huntly executed; his sons all dead but the youngest: there is more debt on the House than the land can pay. Lennox is living as a man buried in his house of Cobham. Douglas and his son Angus are quiet men, of no respect. Argyle, almost drowned in debt, in friendship with the English, but in hatred with the country. He courts the remonstrants, who were and are averse from him. Chancellor Loudon lives like an outlaw about Athol; his lands comprised for debt, under a general very great disgrace. Marischal, Rothcs, Eglinton and his three sons, Crawford, Lauderdale, and others, prisoners in England; and their lands all either sequestered or forsaulted, and gifted to English soldiers. Balmerino suddenly dead, and his son, for publick debt, comprisings, and captions, keeps not the causey. Wariston, having refunded much of what he got for places, lives privily in a hard enough condition, much hated by the most, and neglected by all, except the remonstrants, to whom he is guide. Our criminal judicatories are all in the hands of the English; our civil



civil courts also; only some of the remonstrants are adjoined with them. In the session are Craighall, and his brother Hopeton, Mr A. Pearson, Southall, Col. Lockhart, and Swinton. The only clerks to the session are Mr John Spreul and William Downie. The commissariat and sheriff courts are all in the hands of English soldiers, with the adjunction in some places of some few remonstrants. Strong garrisons in Leith, Edinburgh town and castle, Glasgow, Air, and Dunbarton, Stirling, Linlithgow, Perth, Dundee, Burntisland, Dunnottar, Aberdeen, Inverness, Inverary, Dunstaffnage, &c.

Of a long time no man in the whole isle did mute. All were lulled up in a lethargick fear and despair; only the other year, Glencairn and Balcarras, understanding of an order to apprehend them as corresponding with the King, retired to the hills of Athol. Kenmure having escaped from England, when his house was burnt and his rents seized upon, got to the Lennox with a few horse. Lorn being but coarsely used by his father, joined with Kenmure. To these sundry did associate, Glengary, Athol, Seaforth, not so much to do any thing against the English, as to make some noise of a party, to encourage the King's friends abroad to send him supplies of men, arms, and money. At once a great animosity did rise in every shire of the land. Very many young gentlemen made bold with all the serviceable horses they could find about them, and notwithstanding of all the diligence the English could use to prevent, great numbers came safe to the hills. The war with Holland, and rumour of great help from overseas, did increase daily both the number and courage of this party.

But behold inward division doth hazard all at the very beginning. The irreconcilable discord betwixt Argyle and Hamilton had undone the isle, and almost both the families. Glencairn, Hamilton's cousin, did much mistrust and slight Lorn. Ralston, and the remonstrant-gentlemen of Kintyre, seemed ready to arm for the English, against the King's party. Lorn and Kenmure, with the men they had raised, went to Kintyre to suppress these. They, on hope of the English assistance from Ayr, fortified the castle of Lochend. But when neither Argyle nor the English appear in their defence, they render the house to Lorn's discretion. Kenmure thinking the besieged better used by Lorn than they deserved, fell in a





miscontent, and went from Lorn to Glencairn with many complaints. Balcarras also unwilling to have Glencairn above him, and conceiving it was best for the advancing of the King's affairs, that till the King himself, or one of authority from him, should come, the party should be ruled by a committee without any supreme officer, and that all admitted to councils and command in the army should declare for the Solemn League and Covenant. For these ends he dealt with Lorn, Seaforth, and Athol, till Glencairn produced a commission under the King's hand to be general, till himself or some from him should come to take the command. This unexpected commission put all to a submissive silence, but increased heartburnings. Lorn professing all firmness to the King and cause, was not willing to take orders from Glencairn, till he knew more particularly the King's pleasure. For this end, he Balcarras, and others, wrote to the King their discontent with Glencairn's command. These letters were intercepted, and brought to Glencairn; whereupon he gave order to Glengary to apprehend Lorn to answer for his sedition. Lorn hardly enough escaped Glengary's pursuit. Balcarras retired; and, a little after, with his lady, went disguised through England to the King. Notwithstanding of all these pitiful and shameful debates, Glencairn's party still increased, and his conduct became considerable. The whole highlands, isles, and much of the north, and numbers from the lowlands, were come unto him; so it was thought, at Middleton's coming, he had here and there 8000 or 9000 foot, and 2000 or 3000 horse, of very stout and resolute men as ever we had on the fields, the most of them old soldiers. But at Middleton's coming, when neither the King, nor his brother, nor any foreign forces did appear, the hearts of many began to doubt; and when, after his coming, some months, notwithstanding of all the reiterated promises, no foreign assistance at all did come; but on the contrary, the Holland peace was proclaimed; the treaty of the Protector with Sweden went on; the French ambassador at London was solemnly received, as the Spanish and Portugal had been; all human hope began much to fail, especially after Monk's coming down as general, the proclamation of the Protector, the act of union, and the ordinance of grace, which forfeited and deeply fined so many, and subjected the whole privileges of the nation to the Protector and his council's



council's pleasure, with the abolition of royalty, the whole branches of the family-royal, and all Scots parliaments and conventions of estates; the taking of Kinnoul, Lieutenant-Colonels Heriot, Wiliart, Forsyth, and sundry more of our Scotlinen, unhappily: all these were so hard presages, that the most gave all the King's affairs for gone, and many thought that the King, whether through their weakness, or the treachery of the few counsellors about him, or the cross aspect of all Europe towards him, had so far disappointed the expectation of his friends, that while he lived he was not like to get such a party for his service in Scotland.

So for the time the case of our land is most sad. Monk, by sea and land, is to beset Glencairn and his party, and with much severity to crush them, and for their sakes to lie more heavily on the whole subjected country, beginning with the best of the ministers; who, after mutual advice, find themselves in conscience necessitated to keep the King still in their publick prayers. They have been very careful to give the English no other offence at all; for in all this northland rising, to my best knowledge, there is no minister in Scotland who has had the least hand or any meddling. However, for this our great treason of naming the King in our publick prayers, (as we conceive our duty, covenant, and directory of worship do require, as you will see in the papers herewith sent you), we are like to suffer heavy things. For all this our eyes are towards the Lord. We expect protection from him; and if so he think meet, we are willing to seal our testimony, in faith and humble modesty, with all the sufferings which the injustice of men may be permitted of our heavenly Father to impose upon us.

Being called the other week to confer with the brethren of Edinburgh, I was comforted to find all that met, fully in my sense about prayer for the King, and affairs of our divided synod, divided presbytery, troubled college, and all else we spoke of. But it was a sad sight to see the general affliction at the proclamation of the Protector, of the act of union, the act of forfaultry and deep fining of so many, the preparations of Monk by sea and land presently to swallow up the northern party, destitute of all hope of the oft-promised foreign supplies, as common fame furnished. As our miseries, (without a kingdom wholly, without any judicatories to count of of our own,



without a church well near), are great; so we expect they shall increase, and the next heavy dint shall fall on the chief of the ministry. At once it will not be safe to have any audible complaints of these things either to God or man,

*Postscript, July 20. 1654.*

While I waited long for a bearer, I add further, our triumviri, Mess. Livingston, Gillespie, and Menzies, staid long at London without much access to the Protector. He thought it good to write for Mess. Douglas, Blair, and Guthrie. Mr Blair excused his health. Mr Guthrie, by a fair letter, declared his peremptoriness not to go. Mr Douglas, by Monk's friendly letter, got himself also excused. On their not coming, Mr Livingston got leave to return, and is at home. Mr G. and Mr M. are expected. The business of the plot gave not the Protector much leisure for auditing of them. Only we fear that our church shall be cast under such a committee as now guides all ecclesiastical affairs in England, absolutely as the Protector thinks fit, the most whereof are Anabaptists, Independents, and gentlemen of no ecclesiastical relation. We thank God that persecution on the ministry is not yet begun, except what the remonstrants draw from the English on some few. Mr John Waugh and Mr Robert Knox were long prisoners for naming the King in their prayers; yet now they are at their liberty, and at their charges, to our great joy.

As to our anti-synod, after the pranks in Lanerk they met synodically very frequent at Glasgow, fell on a committee for purging all the presbyteries. I alone went up to them, intreated them with many fair words to delay any such work, and for that end gave them in a large paper, which a very gracious and wise brother, somewhat a mid-man betwixt us, had drawn for that end, which I send to you, that from it you may more fully learn our present temper. All this labour procured little; for notwithstanding they proceeded in their work, and appointed their purging and planting committees; but with this proviso, that they should have, at their next meeting, a conference with any I pleased of my mind before they proceeded. Against their day I had our part of the synod met, and full information of the brethren of Edinburgh



burgh and others for our proceeding. We presently set up a purging and planting committee as well as they, and of these we appointed a number to confer with them. With much ado we got them to stay till the first of August, upon a new conference: against that day Mr James Ferguson drew up a paper of his overtures for our reunion, and I drew up another. You have both here. What the issue shall be you may hear afterward; only these things lie heavier on my heart than any man's else I know, for usually at the times of these comfortless janglings, I am sick and distempered with grief and discontent, though every one of them gives me more respect than to any other; yet for the remediless breach I am heavily oft troubled in my own mind, which I use to pour out before God, and get then courage and strength to go on, and bear the burden.

General Monk went to the fields in the beginning of June, thinking and professing that the discussing of the northern Tories would cost him but a few weeks labour; and we indeed expected no other; for the English in men, horse, money, and all things they could desire, had the clear advantage: yet we cannot hear of any great progress he has made. So soon as Glencairn had rendered his commission to Middleton; on a jar between Monro and Glengary, Glencairn speaking for Glengary, got a challenge from Monro; which he answered, and beat Monro, to his great commendation. This affront, not so much resented by Middleton as need had been, together with the King's too much neglect, as some say, in his late commissions, of Glencairn's very great services, upon the information, as it is thought, of Lorn and Balcarras, he left Middleton, and came with a small party to the Lennox. The noise of this discontentment exceedingly discouraged many; but at once Glencairn carried it so, that all this discouragement was quickly changed; for with the small party he had he defended the pass of Aberfoyle so well against Monk's frequent assaults, and sent out, for good purpose, so many small parties to Clydesdale, Renfrew, Cunningham, Kyle, Carrick, and Galloway, as retarded a while Monk's march to the north; and when he went north, notwithstanding of all the garrisons, and beside them one full regiment of foot and another of horse, left at Glasgow and Killyb, the party sent out from Glencairn, ran up and down the whole country, and did what they





they liked, without great impediment. Monk found his march to the north very troublesome. The people carried all out of his way; stragglers were snapped up; the hills made sundry both horse and men sick and die. It was oft printed, that Morgan had Middleton so inclosed in Sutherland, that he could not escape to the south; yet when Middleton thought it time, he divided his men in parties, and passed by, with ease, both Morgan and Monk, coming to Perthshire and Argyle, notwithstanding all they could do to impede him. Colonel Brian's regiment from Ireland, landing in Lochaber, was lighted on by the country-people, and near 100 of them slain: for this Monk did cause burn all the lands of Lochaber, Glengary, and Seaforth, as he came through. Glenorchy had been too great an intelligencer to the English, and sided with Argyle against Lorn his son; so Middleton caused burn much of his land. This burning, now begun on both hands, may ruin the whole country. It is thought the English have their full of the highland hunting, and that the flux is fallen among them, which make them speak already of quartering. It seems Middleton minds no fighting in any body, but shifts till he see what time may bring forth. The country every where suffers much; yet is patient, for they see no remedy; also the victual all this year is at 4 lb. the boll, a greater appearance of the continuance of this greater plenty than has been seen in our days.

What the world abroad is doing, we know no more than the London Diurnal tells us. What the mystery may be of the Queen of Sweden's dimission, and why her last act should have been (without all necessity) a strict friendship with the Protector, is much marvelled; also, why, for the Protector's friendship, (contrary to the mind of the other provinces), these of Holland should have cast off the Prince of Orange; and if Spain be with the Protector upon a league offensive and defensive, how comes it that both France and Portugal should, by their ambassadors, be begging his friendship? What all this may mean, we understand not, nor what our King's journey to the sea imports. You possibly may make us understand these things. Is Salmasius dead? What is become of Blondell? What new books are among you? Try to get me what of chronology is lately come out. Dr Strang, your good friend, having to do in Edinburgh with the lawyers, concerning the unjust trouble he was put to for his stipend,  
after



after a few days sickness, did die, so sweetly and graciously, as was satisfactory to all, and much applauded over all the city, his very persecutors giving him an ample testimony. His treatise *Dei circa peccatum*, he has enlarged, and made ready for the press. Be careful to get it well printed, according to the constant friendship that was always betwixt you and him. They hope you will get it printed freely, for the piece is likely to sell; but if you must give any money for its printing, they will bear the charge. Let me know with the first, your answer herein; for they will send you the copy so soon as your mind is known, and your advice given. How is your condition in Middleburg? The English congregations use to be very fickle and hard to be kept by their ministers. If your lot be better with yours I will be glad. This letter is after my old fashion. It deserves a long answer. My love to your wife and children. I rest, in the Lord,

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

That you may know the way of planting our churches, have this late practice. Mr John Galbraith of Bothken-nar was deposed for tippling and other faults, some three or four years ago. When Mr James Guthrie continued to preach in Stirling, after his deposition by the general assembly, Mr Galbraith followed his example, and returned to his pulpit. His people loved him better than Stirling did the other. Of the presbytery of Stirling, Mr James Simpson, of Airth, likewise deposed, and Mr Jo. Hogg, of Larber, adhered to Mr Guthrie, and these three made one presbytery. Mr R. Wright and other two or three adhering to the assembly, made themselves another presbytery. Mr George Bennet and other two were neutrals, and abstained from both. Mr Guthrie began a process of excommunication against Mr Galbraith; but he boasted so fast to excommunicate Mr James if he proceeded against him, that this was left off. Mr James professes to have no meddling with the English at all, and to be much averse from all compliance with them, yea to dislike Mr P. Gillespie's way; yet Sir William Bruce of Stonehouse, his special and intimate friend to this day, has taken the sheriffship of Stirling from the English, and continues ruling elder in Mr James's presbytery. By his means an order is procured from the English, that Mr

John



John Galbraith shall give over preaching. This he is forced to obey. They whole parish gives an unanimous call to Mr William Galbraith, a good young man; but an order comes from the English to hinder his plantation; and the whole parish's supplication oft presented to the English, could not get it helped; for the judges are fully for the remonstrants, though General Monk seems to dislike them. Thereafter one Mr John Blair, never heard nor seen by the parish, is named by Mr Guthrie's presbytery to be minister of that kirk; for that people having adhered to a deposed minister, must be counted malignant, and so lose their right to call, and the right of calling must fall in the hands of the presbytery; so an order is procured by the presbytery's ruling elder, Sir William Bruce, from the English to admit that Blair. Mr Ja. Guthrie causes convene a great number of this faction from divers parishes about, and gets Mr Robert Trail from Edinburgh, and Mr John Carslairs from Glasgow, and others, to spend a day in preaching and prayer at his admission. The whole people of the parish meet, and keep the other out of the kirk; the tumult begins; dry strokes are distributed; some fell upon the sheriff's neck. The gentlemen-parishioners, so soon as the sheriff produced his English orders for the admission, ceded; but the people continued all day casting stones and crying: yet they went on with their work, and thrust in the man. For all this, Mr Guthrie has no dealing with the English, and does no wrong. Our oppression is great and crying.

At Glasgow, Mr Andrew Gray, a youth of twenty-two years at most, lately laureate at St Andrew's, upon one sermon or two at Glasgow, Mr P. Gillespie and his friends will have him admitted to his place. I refused to consent; the youth being so young, and utterly a stranger to us; his trials of expectant being hastily passed in the presbytery of Hamilton; and none of the ministers either of Edinburgh, or St Andrew's, the places of his residence, being acquainted with him, as he professed; also his voice being so weak, that the most in our kirks heard him not. The magistrates and town-council being utterly against his admission, dealt with him earnestly not to trouble them. At first his modesty was so very great, that a small impediment seemed enough to fear him from accepting of any charge; but so soon as our session (which is but the echo of what our brethren speak) had given him a call, with-

out



out scruple he went on to his trials, and, over the belly of the town's protestation, was admitted by their part of the presbytery minister of Glasgow. His voice is not yet so good as to be heard by divers. He has the new guise of preaching, which Mr Hugh Binning and Mr Robert Leighton began, containing the ordinary way of expounding and dividing a text, of railing doctrines and uses; but runs out on a discourse on some common head, in a high, romancing, and unscriptural style, tickling the ear for the present, and moving the affections in some, but leaving, as he confesses, little or nought to the memory and understanding. This we must misken, for we cannot help it. This faction grows much among us. I fear the issue. The King's restitution, or his party's thriving, they seem to fear. Their piety and zeal is very susceptible of schism and error; I am oft afraid for their apostasy. Many conferences has been among them, Argyle, and Col. Lockhart, for taking up arms against the northern party; yet nothing of this kind is done, though divers mints have been made. Time will clear the honesty and dishonesty of many. Our life here is a warfare; yet God supports us, and we faint not. Blessed be our Father, who, through all these confusions, will bring his children to glory.

One of our friends wrote to us some scruples against the constitution of our separate synod; to which I returned the inclosed answer. On the 1st of August some of both sides met, but could come to no agreement. We gave them in our overtures, cast in another mould; and they theirs, as our inability to deal with the English, and their continual assistance from that power, (sought or unsought, I cannot say, and many affirm), make us daily lose, and them gain, and many incline to their thriving side.

After some refreshment from a fruitless journey through the hills, Monk is again to the fields. He, Couper, Twislington, and Argyle, are at Dumbarton, advising on a hard and sorrowful work, what houses and what corns to burn. This work is begun on both sides already. We know not where it will end.

195. To Mr William Spang. Anno 1655.

Cousin,

I go on to give you an account of our affairs where I





left off in my last long letter. The Lord has given myself above this twelve months much more peace than I had before, and than I expected upon this occasion. You heard the overtures we proponed for the union of our synod, which were the least we could receive before we could join. Though among ourselves unanimously we had agreed to keep up our part of the synod, if the substance of all these were not granted, and the brethren at Edinburgh, to whom I went for advice, had approved that our resolution; and the chief of the presbyteries of Ayr and Irvine, with whom I had met also at Irvine, had agreed to adhere to these overtures; and if they, being *minimum quod sit*, should be refused, they concluded to set up their two presbyteries in a synod by themselves, according to their ancient privilege acknowledged in all our late general assemblies; also, when we met at our synod, these on our side agreed again to act here according to former resolutions. Notwithstanding, when the brethren of the other side had peremptorily refused our overtures, and drawn on a new conference, to try if two of each side, particularly, Mr James Ferguson and Mr George Young for us, Mr James Durham and Mr P. Gillespie for them, could fall on any other overtures which might unite us, these four among themselves condescended to the inclosed paper, and engaged themselves to do their best to persuade others thereto. When I saw the paper, I found clearly, that the final determination of all things was left in the synod, whereof remonstrators were the plurality; and that no remeid was left us against the oppression, either in purging or planting, that was for any purpose; and that this agreement was a clear receding from our former determination. I did not yield to it: yet fear from the remonstrants violence, and love of peace, and hope, by yielding, to make them more moderate, made the most declare their contentment to accept of it; all of Glasgow except one, and of Dunbarton except two, of Irvine except two. Finding it so, I was glad at my heart that so fair a door to my private peace was opened; for not being willing to accept of the terms of that agreement, I had a clear reason to absent myself from the synod and presbytery, united on so unjust terms. The brethren of my former mind finding me resolute not to join with them, were desirous to keep with me, especially the author of the late overture, Mr Ferguson, and Mr Young. But this by no means I would permit; for that having declared almost all  
their



their willingness to unite on these mean terms, I would not have them draw back, contrary to their minds, upon my dissent : so with much ado I got them to join, and let me, and a few more, serve my own mind of abstaining from their united meetings. This hitherto I have done, to the great quietness of my own mind, and freedom of the very frequent and vexatious janglings, wherewith, in all meetings, I was wont exceedingly to be troubled : only I am grieved to see my predictions too truly to come to pass ; the remonstrants, as unquestionable masters, to do within the bounds of the synod whatever they think expedient. Mr Archibald Denniston, without any considerable fault, they deposed. When he fled to the English, Mr P. Gillespie, as I foresaw, by his greater credit, stopped all hearing there. Mr David Adamson, though of many libelled scandals they got not one proven, yet still they keep in the pannel ; and our most regular plantation of Mr James Ramsay, Mr Archibald Inglis, and one in Robertson, they will have annulled, and the most irregular plantations of their men to stand. At their next diet they will fall on whom they please without controul. However, being free of publick debates without, as, I think, my own procurement, but the rash imprudence, if not the too much wisdom of others, I am glad.

I was like to have been more troubled by another design of a larger union. Mr Durham going through St Andrew's to the house of Purie, he fell with Mr Blair to resume his old counsels of a general union with the remonstrants, by an overture of oblivion of bygones. For this end, Mr Blair and he deal with Mr Wood to be content of a conference at Edinburgh upon that subject, together with the other purposes we were much vexed with, prayer for the King, and admission of compliers to the communion ; also they went to design the conferrers. For us they named Mr Robert Douglas, Mr David Dickson, Mr Hugh Mackell, Mr W. Rate, Mr W. Douglas of Aberdeen, Mr Jo. Robertson of Dundee, Mr Ja. Wood, Mr Ja. Ferguson, and me. For the other, Mr J. Guthrie, Mr. P. Gillespie, Mr Jo. Livingston, Mr S. Rutherford, Mr R. Traill, Mr Jo. Cartairs, Mr Sa. Austin, and some three more. So soon as I heard of this motion so far advanced, I was much feared for the consequence of it, and therefore wrote to Mr Dickson to beware of the danger ; and being west, called Mr Jo. Bell, Mr W. Russell, and



Mr Ro. Wallace, to advise on it. All of them were afraid of the issue; yet none would be at the pains of riding to Edinburgh to consult about it. This I behoved to do myself. When I came there, I found the brethren not at all minding the matter; but setting the hazard before their eyes, I got them roused to look about them, and to commissionate me to bring from the west whom I thought fit for that conference, to write themselves to Mr Knox and Mr Jameson, with others in the south, and to Mr Robert Young, Mr James Sharp, and others in the north, to be present. When we came to the meeting, I was glad the danger was not so great as I apprehended. The remonstrants had as little a mind to unite with us as we with them. Mr Gillespie and Mr Carstairs, and a few others, were for capitulating; but Wariston, Mr Guthrie, and others, were as rigid as ever; yea, whatever by their contriving or otherwise, it was so, that we could have no conference. We had drawn up an overture, as we thought, very favourable, so far as we could go, according to the assembly's late overture for union, and by the hands of the trysters, Mr Blair, and Mr Durham, sent in to their meeting. Also the trysters had given us both their overtures to be thought upon; but the remonstrants told us, in regard of Mr Rutherford and Mr Livingston's absence, they could not at that time engage in a conference; and therefore desired a new meeting. We were not content that they had made us travel in vain, and thought not fit to appoint a meeting, till they met among themselves, and considered the paper we had given them; if they would acquiesce to it, or send us any better whereto we could acquiesce, upon the advertisement of some probability of accommodation from Mr Dickson to us, and Mr Traill to them, there might be a meeting so soon as they thought fit. So, after a little prefacing by delegates from both meetings, we parted before we entered in a conference. We understood, that our overture was laughed at by their high stomachs; and as for that of Mr Blair, we were offended all of us with it, as granting to the remonstrants almost all their unreasonable desires. For this we expostulated sharply enough with Mr Blair, and he with us. But he was much more offended with the other; and both he and Mr Durham said, that so long as Wariston and Mr Guthrie guided that party, there could no peace be possible. Though the great and much-talked-of errand of



our meeting had evanished; yet we conferred among ourselves, and Mr Blair, Mr Durham, Mr Traill, Mr Stirling, and Mr Carstairs, on other things for good purpose. For a number of years, the communion had not been celebrated in Edinburgh, Glasgow, St Andrew's, Dundee, &c. most because all the magistrates were so deep in complying with the English, that they were excluded from the table by the act of our church, and long constant practice, except they declared their repentance, which they would not do, nor durst we crave it of them: also they were so importunate to have the communion, and impatient to be longer excluded, that they were on heady and evil designs against us, if we gave them not satisfaction herein. The ministers of Edinburgh inclined to admit them on very small acknowledgement. We in Glasgow were all for that, except Mr Durham and myself, albeit we were both much modified at that time; but these of St Andrew's were very averse from their admission, except on conditions not to be expected from them. For this end, they had sent us a long paper; yet, after some days conference, we came to agree to admit them on a general testimony in our doctrine against their compliance, and private admonishing of them to repent for it, laying it on their consciences to come or not as they thought good. We thought, indeed, time had much altered the case; and I drew Mr Blair by, and told him roundly, it was very discordant, not to quarrel Mr Livingston's and Mr Gillespie's celebration, notwithstanding their voluntary most gross and avowed compliance, and to controvert the admission of magistrates for compelled compliance in a far less degree. This stopped his mouth, and he contradicted no more. As for prayer for the King, we spake not much of it in publick; but in private I found, that most of the company thought it might be forbore, were it not for the proclamation to forbear it under the penalty of losing our stipends; that leaving of it now would occasion a great scandal. While we were in private conferring on this, Mr Wood overtured, that a way might be found to satisfy the English, and keep still our prayer for the King. I thought this impossible; and before I could learn it from him, he was necessitated to go home. Thereafter I found that Mr James Sharp had persuaded him and Mr Douglas to go with Monk's recommendation to the Protector, to intreat for our sparing in this conscientious practice, and





for the freedom of our assemblies, on promise of peaceable behaviour. How far the remonstrants provocations put on such a resolution, I know not; but no such thing is yet done, and to me it is a matter of a very doubtful nature. It is true, all the estates of the kingdom, yea, every particular person of note, have submitted, and on occasion of civil rights, have acknowledged the present power, except some of us ministers; and that our protesting brethren, of their own accord, ever since Worcester, having put the King out of their prayers, have provoked hereby the English to persecute us; yet if all be true what some of us have written for this duty, how we shall for any trouble leave it, it is hard to say. I sent you three papers for the continuance of this practice; and Mr Hutcheson wrote a fourth, which I did not see, better, as I heard, than all the former. For myself, I never wrote a line on that question, but adhered to the thing without scruple; albeit what ye wrote from Voetius stumbled me, and the general practice of all our brethren of England and Ireland more. What we shall do in the end we do not know. This is the greatest difficulty that sticks in our stomach; albeit in mine, Mr Dickson's, Mr Durham's, Mr Smith's, and others, more; in Mr Douglas, Mr Blair, Mr Wood, and Mr Ferguson, and most of others, less. It is our present deliberation: the Lord direct us in it. I hear the King himself would gladly permit us to forbear it, and our flocks would earnestly request us to the same; but for myself I know not yet how to do it. Mr Ja. Ferguson and Mr Alexander Nisbet, by the malevolence of some of their neighbours, were sorely persecuted, and chased some weeks from their flocks, and with very much ado obtained some forbearance of the General. How long we shall be spared, we cannot tell.

I wrote to some of the ministers at London to cause some friends to represent our case to the Protector; but the answer I got promised little: yet (by what means I know not) to this day the storm is holden off, whether conscience, or pity, or fear, or diversion by other affairs, has helped it, is uncertain.

When Mr Gillespie was with Cromwell, he assisted and pleased sundry in the matter of their fines. All the three preached once or twice in the chapel. Cromwell was kind enough to them all; but Mr Livingston came first away. Mr Gillespie and Mr Menzies, for the two colleges



colleges of Glasgow and Aberdeen, obtained fundry favours; the superiorities of Galloway as the bishop had them, and 2900 merks a-year out of the customs of Glasgow, for maintenance of bursars at our own nomination, with the town's maintenance for the use of the poor who were hurt by the burning. For this service the town gave Mr Patrick a gratuity of 30 pieces, which he took: and having regretted to us his great charges in that half-year, that it had exceeded L. 250 Sterling, and all that he had received from Cromwell was L. 100, I was content the college should allow him L. 100; but it was carried by votes to 3000 merks. His stipend that year, I think, was 2000 merks, and his debarments for us about one thing and another, another 1000 merks, besides 1000 merks for books to the library. For all this I think he was no gainer: his journey and way of living at London was sumptuous. Yet all this would have been well taken, had not the last half of his gift contained an order to the judges to allow no intrants any stipend but these who had the testimony of so many of the remonstrant faction in every diocese as they sat down. There were only a few of our mind joined, who would have carried nothing against the other, so the planting of all the churches was, in effect, devolved on that faction. The clauses in the order appointed the judges to assist them in the ejection of all these they should declare scandalous, as you may read in the order itself printed by the council. So soon as this was known, however, the remonstrants in our bounds and in the south were glad, and began to make use of it, yet generally it was cried out upon; the ministers of Edinburgh preached much against it; the presbytery of Edinburgh and synod of Lothian declared against it; the synods of Fife and the Merse did the like: yea, Mr Guthrie wrote sharply against it, and the ministers of Edinburgh gave in to Monk a paper, to be communicated to the Protector, as both the synod and presbytery of Edinburgh had declared before against it. And in a meeting of the remonstrants, Wariston carried a vote of a testimony against it: but this was suppressed, for fear of dividing their party, who in other things also did not well agree; for some of them were much more complying with the English than Wariston or Mr Guthrie allowed. Yet Mr Guthrie's way became doubtful on this much talked occasion. His colleague, Mr David Bennet, had under his hand engaged



gaged himself some more to the assembly of Dundee, than agreed with his former rashness, and Mr Guthrie's way : though after the breaking of the land Mr David retracted somewhat of this, yet so much stuck of it as made him not fully of Mr James's judgement. The people liked neither well, but Mr David best of the two : thence emulation and some contests in the session began to arise ; but Mr David being on his death-bed, and advising to plant his place with a man peaceable, not factious, Mr James and the town fell in a strife about that matter immediately after his death. Mr James had formed the session to his own mind ; whoever opposed his way, were removed, on divers pretences. The remainder were but few, who were persuaded to call to Mr Bennet's place, one Mr Rule from Angus. To this election the body of the town was opposite ; but when Mr James, neglecting their opposition, went on to admit him, the people, tumultuously, with cries, and shouts, and strokes, opposed it ; yet Mr James admitted the man, and caused summon above 60 of the chief burghesses before the English criminal court at Edinburgh for a riot. Being all put to an assize, to the judges open dissatisfaction, they were all absolved once and again. Their advocate publicly served Mr James with very coarse language ; but the judges favoured him all in their power. This all disliked in Mr James as a dangerous preparative to the whole land. However, it made his people irreconcilable to him. The synod of Perth met at Dumblane. When they were about to declare against the violent intrusion of Mr Rule, Mr Guthrie appeared with a declinature of their judicatory. This irritated them so far as they appointed some of their number to go to Stirling, and intimate his sentence of deposition by the general assembly, the nullity of Mr Rule's admission to Stirling, and of Mr Blair's to Bothkennar, to elect a new session for calling of ministers to Stirling, and to approve that as the presbytery of Stirling, from which Mr James had separated. This provoked the remonstrant party to meet at Edinburgh, where, what course of revenge they have resolved upon, I fear we shall hear in time. There is a talk of sending propositions to Cromwell for investing the church-government in their party's hands. However, Mr Rutherford was sent to Stirling to preach against the synod's proceedings, though Mr Rule was a known fornicator. There was another



other very erroneous practice of our brethren : A good and able young man, Mr Jo. Jameſon, being planted, almoſt unanimoſly, in the pariſh of Eccleſ by the whole preſbytery of Dunſe, ſome few of the remonſtrant-ſide give a call to Mr Andrew Rutherford. Mr John Livingſton, with two of the preſbytery of Chirnſide, admit him to his trials in reference to that church. The brethren of Edinburgh hearing of it, earneſtly wrote to Mr John to beware of ſuch a clear overturning of our fundamental diſcipline. However, they go on with all ſpeed with the trial ; and, with an Engliſh order and guard, force him on the people. When the ſynod were about to declare againſt this unheard-of intruſion, Mr John and his friends gave in a ſtrong proteſtation. The ſynod declared againſt them ; and they, by the Engliſh force, keep out Jameſon, and put in Rutherford. The preſbyteries of Edinburgh and St Andrew's, and, as I think, the ſynods of Fife and Lothian, declared againſt this ſhameful uſurpation ; but our brethren regard little either preſbyteries or ſynods when oppoſite to their deſires. This ſynod of Lothian, in a well-framed act, opened Mr William Colvill's mouth. Theſe fatal diviſions which wracked England and our kingdom, firſt and laſt, which with our eyes we have ſeen, the only conſiderable means of the ruin of thoſe who are down, and riſing of thoſe who are up, are like to put in the hands of that unquiet faction of our brethren, or elſe into the hands of Eraſtian ſtateſmen, all church-juriſdiction ; ſo at once we ſhall have no diſcipline to look after, but to preach, pray, and celebrate the ſacraments, and be glad to be tolerated to go about that without controul. When Quakers ſail a-raiſing on all the miniſtry, in the face of our congregations, on the Sabbath-day, they are not puniſhed at all ; nor, for ought I know, is there any church diſcipline at all to this day any where in England. The miniſters there, are herein ſo heartleſs and diſcouraged, that they dare ſpeak nothing which may be interpreted to give the leaſt offence. I marvelled, that when I ſent my answer to Cotton and Tombes, to Mr Calamy for his *Imprimatur*, yea, a dedicatory epiſtle, he was no feeble-minded as to reſuſe both my dedication and his own *Imprimatur* ; yea, with a great difficulty could I get his *Imprimatur* to my very catechiſm : A ſtrange change of times, and great feebleneſs of men !

Concerning our commonwealth, how it is conceived here I give you this account. The riſing of the highlands





has proven, as the most of wise men ever expected, hurtful to us. The country was much oppressed by it; the King's party much weakened; the English imbittered the more against us; and their inward divisions and factions holden in so long as that party stood considerable. It grew indeed to a greater height than any could have imagined; yet the Holland peace, and the King's disappointment abroad, with their own foolish pride and divisions, brought them to nothing, and made them capitulate one after another, till at last all are come in. John Graham of Duchray is the last, who indeed was among the most honest, stout, and wise men of them all. The English gave tolerable terms to them all; and by this wisdom have got them all quiet. Glencairn led the way to the rest, as of going out, so of coming in; for which much blame lies on him. Athol's friends brought him off with the first; Seaforth also became wise in time. Lorn's difference with his father kept him longer out; yet he is at last persuaded to come in, albeit he and his father are not like to be good friends. His father, lest he give any occasion to the English to suspect his collusion with his son, keeps the greater distance from him, albeit the most think the domestick divisions between them are so real and true as makes both their lives bitter and uncomfortable to them, and the great burthen of debt puts their very house in hazard to ruin, if the English be no more kind to them than they have been, or it seems they will be. The father sought a garrison to lie in Argyle, to keep it from his son's violence; but when it was on the way, he repented, and got a new order for their return: yet they would go on; yea, took up his own best house of Inverary, made the kirk and school their stables, and hardly at this very time have been got removed. The people's great hatred lies on him above any one man, and whatever befalls him, few do pity him. At this time his estate is very staggering. The Chancellor got better conditions in his capitulation than any expected, albeit his debts and infamy lie very heavy upon him.

For this time, all Scotland is exceeding quiet, but in a very uncomfortable condition; very many of the noblemen and gentlemen, what with imprisonments, banishments, forfeitures, fines, as yet continuing without any releasement, and private debts from their former troubles, are wrecked or going to wreck. The commonality  
are



are oppressed with maintenance to the English army. Strange want of money upon want of trade, for our towns have no considerable trade; and what is, the English have possessed it. The victual is extraordinary cheap, in God's mercy, but judgement to many. Want of justice, for we have no baron-courts; our sheriffs have little skill, for common being English soldiers; our lords of session, a few English, unexperienced with our law, and who, this twelvemonth, have done little or nought: great is our suffering through want of that court. After long neglect of us as no nation, at last a supreme council of state, with power in all things, is come down to six or seven English soldiers and two of our complying gentlemen, Colonel Lockhart and Swinton. We expect little good from them; but if an heavy excise, as is said, be added to our maintenance, and the paying of all the garrisons lie on us, our condition will be insupportable; yet be what it will, it must be borne, we have deserved it. But we hope the Lord will look down on the affliction of the unjustly afflicted by men.

The other year, when the good parliament sat down, we were in great fear. Their first declarations were so pious, but to me so full of the Anabaptistick strain, that I was afraid of them. They were elected absolutely by the officers of the army, and the ministers of their cabal, fully according to the mind of the Sectarian party; but they were no sooner set, than they flew so high, as to mind nothing but a fifth monarchy upon earth, to overthrow all magistracy and ministry as it stood, and put all in a new mould of their own, wherein publicly some fomented them for their own wise designs. However, they were far on in overturning all remaining foundations of church and state. The General, with some of his confident friends of the army, dissolved them by force, lest they should have overwhelmed him, themselves, and all, in their new Babel, and took on himself the office of Protector, with a power, to him and his council-supreme, beyond, as it seemed to many, the regal line; yet necessary for the time, and quietly acquiesced in without contradiction. To mollify it, a parliament was called after the old way, but of men engaging to the new way of government. There went from Scotland thirty, and from Ireland as many. Our and their chusers were men who, for peace, were resolved to do or say any thing they found tolerable



to their own large mind, and, I think, were all so complying with the Protector as he could have wished: yet many of the chief in this meeting were so dissatisfied with one above a parliament, (a true and high royalty as they conceived), that at their very first downsitting they set themselves to overturn the new building for their love of their too much-fancied republick, in a free and absolutely supreme parliament. An unhappy dream! unfit for the government of the people of this isle at any time, and most as now disposed. The Protector finding it so, made no scruple to discipline them, and, without much more ado, to purge the House presently of all who, under their hand, did not engage again to preserve the model of government appointed by the Protector and his friends. When many of the most stirring heads, by the refusal of this engagement, were put out of the House, it was expected, that the rest would have so fully complied as they had written with their hands; yet, for what causes we know not, the Protector found them all so undermining of his government, that he thought it fit to dissolve them. Hence all were filled with new discontents: but the Protector had so far with his wit and diligence provided for all, that there was no considerable stir. Lambert and the chief of the army were made, by hopes, so fast, that they concurred chearfully in all things. Lieut.-Col. Lilburn, a most turbulent man, whom I thought no force nor skill would ever have got quiet, was so cunningly conveyed to Jersey, and there so strictly kept, that there has been nothing more heard of him than he had been dead. Capt. Joyce was put in the same condition. General-Majors Harrisons and Overton, with sundry other officers of the army, both in Scotland and England, are close prisoners for designs to turn the army against the Protector. A number of the royal party rising in a very confused imprudent way in many shires, were all easily scattered, and the chief of them made fast, and sundry executed for their conspiring; albeit in what, and how far, we know not. We are glad, that no Scotman was found accessory to any of these designs. It seems our people were so ill burnt, that they had no stomach for any farther meddling; only Crawford, Lauderdale, and David Leslie, when the Tower was filled with new prisoners, were sent to farther and worse prisons, for no new fault that we hear tell of.

These stirs make the Protector more vigilant. The fall  
out



out of his coach, and the attempts more than once for his life by Gerard the tailor, and others, shew the violence of some spirits. The raising of all the three last parliaments; the speaking of a crown, and title of a King or Emperor, which some think is not vain; the putting of the government of Ireland under his son Henry, and Scotland under a council of some six or seven officers of the army, and chiefly of his nieces, Robin a sewer's husband, the young Lord of Lee, make great malecontentment in the heart of the most. To help this, all possible courses are taken to satisfy England; but Scotland is not worth the minding. In England L. 60,000 Sterling a month, the half of the maintenance is diminished; but we fear the new excise shall double our maintenance; albeit excising in England seems to have been great, yet few have suffered, and we hear of few forfeitures or fines there; but many of our nation are sent to the plantations, our fines are many and great, and our grievances much neglected. For satisfying the people of England, the two great navies, the one, on the coast of Africa, Italy, and Spain, under Blake; the other, in the West Indies, under Penn, served much for a time: for it was thought at first, that the navy under Blake to assist the Spaniard against the French, invading by sea, both Naples and Catalonia, besides the securing of the ships and cannon, should have had assurance from the Spaniard for pay 200,000 pounds Sterling; and thereafter, that their design was to free all the English captives at Tunis, Algiers, and Salee, and to intercept the Spanish plate at Cadiz. Also that Penn's great army of 12,000 men had been, not only to have taken St Domingo in Hispaniola, but also Mexico in New Spain. These high and advantageous designs did much please the spirits of the vulgar; but now miscontentments are feared, even on that ground also, to rise, that so huge expence has been laid on the people for fruitless designs; and that in their far voyages, many lives have been lost for no purpose. Since this time Blake has lived on the English charge, the Spaniard has borne no expences. The burning of the Turkish ships at Tunis is said to have provoked the Turks at Constantinople, and elsewhere, to rob many English of life and goods; that none of the Spanish fleet is yet gotten, and if meddled with, it were a breach with Spain, which were a beginning of a needless war at an unreasonable time; that Penn's great navy and army

have





have done no service at all, but in Hispaniola have got a great affront. These things from the Diurnals: the discontent royalists blaze far; but the Protector is wise enough to see to all these murmurings of silly people. In quieting of malecontents he has a strange both dexterity and skill.

For church-matters, there is no ecclesiastick government at all that we can hear of; yet the hand of power is not heavy on any for matters of religion, no not on Quakers, who are open railers against the Protector's person; yea, we hear of little trouble of Papists, who grow much in the north of Scotland, more than these eighty years, without any controul. We expect our council of state will see to it.

For things abroad, they are thus represented to us: That the French totally neglect our King, the Cardinal being unwilling in the King's minority to undertake a war with England, for the marring of the great advancement of the French interest against their chief enemies, the Spanish and Austrian; that for this end they pass by the daily taking of numbers of their ships.

The defeat of the royal navy in its way to Dunkirk, whereupon alone followed the loss of Dunkirk; the taking from them the plantations of Canada, and St Christopher's, and others; that all these the French dissemble, and seek the English friendship, till they have done their business elsewhere, as daily they make so good progress; that Conti takes in town after town in Catalonia, which is interpreted the great weakness of Spain, that is not able in Spain itself to crush a little French army; in Italy also, the Spanish in Milan is put hard to it, when the French, with all the power of Savoy and Modena, and the neutrality of the Venetian, Pope, Florence, and Genoa, deals with him; only it is marvelled what folly moved the French, in their passage through Savoy, to fall on the quiet Protestants of the vallies. If this massacre be the half of the thing it is called, it were enough, not only before God, but with men, to mar the full career of the French victory. But many here suspect the matter not to be so great; not so much because the French King, Pope, and Savoyard, disclaim it as none of their deeds; but because so many diurnals insist so much upon it, and so much noise is made of it here, the royalists say, that of the blood of the saints this politick use is made, to make people



people see the happiness of our present government, where-  
in we live in peace, free from the cruelty of Papists; and  
if Charles Stuart came here, the people had cause to fear,  
from him and his mother, these incredible murders which  
the Protestants of Savoy find from the Duke, the King's  
cousin-german, by the advice of his mother, the Queen's  
true sister. But we fear too much of this persecution be  
true, let any exaggerate or abuse it to what end they think  
fit. But the terrible progress of the French, and most to  
our prejudice, is in Flanders, where the English junction  
with Spain, if in time, might easily have stopped; but if  
to the conquest of Lorain and Alsatia, they add Flanders,  
and get of Spain the Low Countries, their neighbourhood,  
both to England and Holland, will be more formidable  
than ever Spain was; and whatever progress the French  
make this year against Spain, many impute it to the Eng-  
lish, who have hindered the Spanish silver-fleet to come  
home, whereby the Spanish have been disabled to keep  
the fields against the French any where, let be in Flanders  
against the King in person, with the great royal army.

*Postscript, December 1. 1655.*

While Mr Wood, rector of the university of St An-  
drew's, had oft to do with Gen. Monk for the university,  
and always got civil hearing, it was thought fit, that Mr  
Douglas and he should represent to the General the mani-  
fold and increasing grievances of the church; which they  
did in a paper. The General professed himself willing,  
but unable to remedy them; only undertook to send them  
to the Protector, with whom yet they keep together, with  
their representation against Mr Gillespie's charter, as they  
call it. The General oft spoke concernig prayer for the  
King. Mr Douglas, and others, shewed their utter un-  
willingness to quit it so long as the proclamation stood;  
and when the sheriff was sent to trouble them, had he not  
given over his begun process, they had prepared protesta-  
tions. The General declared his inability to take off the  
proclamation for the time; but hoped the new council,  
when it came down, should do it. At their coming, the  
President Broghill, having a good impression from his  
sister, the Lady Clotworthy, of Mr Douglas and Mr Dick-  
son, dealt kindly with them; and understanding their sick



at the proclamation, albeit with some difficulty, got the council to take it off, shewing withal to the ministers the strictness of his instructions against all who continued publicly naming the King. After much deliberation, they thought it fit to give it over. They once purposed a declaration, and a paper for removal of objections; but foreseeing the offence from these writs would have been equal to the continuance of their practice, they abstained, and only drew a paper, which they sent to me, and no other. Mr Wood's larger answer to objections I have not yet got. The example of these in Edinburgh is like to be followed by all. Some yet stick. Our remonstrants grieved and mocked at this change. Some of our people, from whom we did not expect it, were offended; but, above all, General Monk was irritated against us, as if we had yielded to Broghill what we denied to him: and from that day, on all occasions, befriended openly the remonstrants, to our prejudice, as men to be trusted beyond us, their principles being opposite to the interests of their enemy Charles Stuart, whom we did affect still, notwithstanding of our silence in our publick prayers. Mr Traill, who conversed much with him, wrote in the time of our last synod a long letter to Mr Gillespie, which he read publicly to a grand committee of his mind, as if we had uttered to the General and President very many calumnies against them, especially their averfeness from all peace with us their brethren.

On occasion thereafter, both the President and General, to their own faces, witnessed our innocency; affirming, that in all our speeches to them we had never spoke one word to their prejudice. However, the remonstrants of our synod, stirred up by Mr Traill's calumnious letter, sent to Mr Gillespie and others to clear them of our imputations, and to desire, that the ministers of Edinburgh might call a meeting for union, if possible; or, if not, that it might be seen by whose fault the discord continued. The meeting was called, and kept November 8. by a number of both sides from all the parts of the kingdom. It was not long before it was clear who were the men that made the union desperate, except on intolerable conditions. Our meetings appointed nine on every side to confer. Theirs were Wariston, Sir John Cheesly, Col. Ker, Mr Rutherford, Mr Guthrie, Mr Gillespie, Mr Naesmith, Mr Traill, Mr Gabriel Maxwell: Ours were, Mr Douglas, Mr Dickson,



son, Mr Wood, Mr Ker, Mr Ferguson, Mr Robert Young, Mr Mackell, Mr Smith, and myself. Mr Blair and Mr Durham appeared as midsmen; albeit of our judgement for the main, and in the whole debate, grieved with the other. Their papers were all framed by Mr Guthrie's hand of my Lord Wariston's materials. The first to us was so high and absurd, that we could scarcely believe our own apprehensions of it, and resolved, by queries, to try their positive mind anent it. I drew a paraphrase on it, and Mr Ferguson another; out of which Mr Wood drew this third, which we gave them to answer. To be even with us, they, November 13. gave us queries on our overture the 1st of June; and withal, an answer to our queries. Having pondered these, we returned an answer to their queries, and our sense of their overture. Our concessions were so many and great, that Mr Gillespie, Mr Carstairs, and others of their meeting, not Mr Durham and Mr Blair only, seemed fully satisfied therewith, and we began to hope for a concord. But Wariston and Mr Guthrie carried it so in their meeting over Mr Gillespie, that this very captious paper was given to us; which Mr Gillespie denied openly to be the sense of their meeting, and Mr Guthrie affirmed it was; and hardly by distinctions could they be brought, even in our meeting, to agree among themselves about that paper. However, we agreed to give it a soft unreflecting answer, though much provoked; yea, to gain them, we gave in a representation. At last they gave us their clear and final sense; with which Mr Gillespie refused to join, but deserted their meeting. Mr Wood was here called from us to see his father die; but we gave them the last paper, of Mr Ferguson's hand; and so, after twenty-three days stay, we closed the meeting. We heard in the midst of our conference, they had voted the setting up of twenty-four ministers and six elders, thirty of all, even their part of the commission of the assembly 1650, with absolute power of a full jurisdiction over the whole kirk of Scotland, on supposition we should not agree to their desires; and likewise had agreed on a supplication to the council for assistance to that their most presumptuous and unreasonable committee which ever our church did see.

At our synod of Glasgow, where this conference for union was hatched, there were other two dangerous motions. Wariston and Mr Guthrie had fallen on a new





conceit, to put all the godly of the land, of their faction, under the band of a new covenant, which Mr Guthrie had drawn in some sheets of paper, from which he had cut off all the articles of our former covenants which concerned the King, parliament, or liberties of the land, or mutual defence. At this motion the council was highly offended, and spoke threatening words of Wariston and Mr Guthrie for this attempt: yet after their apology, were so well pleased, that the General gave Wariston a visit in his house, which I know not if he hath yet done to any other of the nation; and Mr Guthrie hath that familiarity with him, that when both are in town, he sends his mind to him in closed epistles, which I doubt if any other of the nation has yet made bold to do. In their meeting at Edinburgh, January 1st, they proponed this covenant. The English agents, Mr Gillespie, and Mr Livingston, disputed against it in vain. Mr Gillespie, so soon as he went west, called a meeting at Kilmarnock to crush it if he could. Wariston hearing of his design, sent Sir John Cheesly to keep that meeting, where there were bitter and reflecting words betwixt Sir John and Mr Patrick; yet Mr Patrick carried it over Sir John, that all should declare their mind concerning the covenant; where all, except four or five of little weight, dissented, yet so that they should inquire the sense of the godly of the bounds anent it, and report at the next synod. Sir John, foiled in this, prevailed against Mr Patrick in another vote of their mind, for erection of the commission for purging the kirk. These interferences put us in hopes that faction would divide among themselves. At Glasgow, the report was, that all the godly in these parts disliked the motion of the covenant; however, the godly in Fife and Lothian were said to like it; yet, on the west's dislike, the motion for the time was laid aside. But behold, from some of the sessions of Glasgow it was moved, that the ordinance for testifying, notwithstanding of all the contradiction had been made to it, seemed very innocent and exceeding good to be practised. To this Sir John opposed, and Mr Patrick avowed he knew nought of the motion; but so soon as he went to Edinburgh to seek a conference for union, the president and other counsellors, of their own proper motions altogether, without his knowledge, as he affirms, resolved to proclaim his ordinance, and did it after his departure; but after his preaching.



preaching to the council, and keeping of their kirk the whole sabbath, and going with the president in his coach to dinner, these things made us not at all to understand Mr Gillespie's meaning; yet this was visible, as Mr Guthrie wrote sharply against his ordinance, so he opposed his covenant and commission, and looked towards an union with us; but for what end many did doubt. A little time will clear more mysteries. You will perceive in the papers, as is evident in the conference, that our remonstrants first resolution is, 1. Not to rest content with an oblivion of what is past, of enjoying their own judgement in peace, and taking off their censures; but will have us consent to their liberty of prosecuting their protestations in posterior assemblies, not only for condemning of the publick resolutions, (which we in conscience judge necessary truths, the grounds of our apology to foreign churches, and the world, for our innocence in all these fearful scandals which our brethrens tenets and practices have occasioned to be cast upon the face of our church and nation), but also for condemning the two last general assemblies for ever, which for constitution cannot be more lawful than these two. 2. That whatever necessity we may have of a general assembly, or whatever desire we may have of one, or liberty from the English to get it; yet we must never have it till they be willing to join with us to seek it in their terms. 3. That as peace with them may not be had, except during the paucity of their party, compared with the multitude of their opposites in the presbyteries and synods, (for sundry whole synods will not have any of them, as Angus, Moray, Argyle; and I think sundry other divers synods have but very few of them; as Fife but seven, whereof two only considerable; Perth at most fourteen, whereof but one considerable; Lothian, if ye except them of Lithgow and Biggar, but three), the whole synods and presbyteries of the kingdom will be content to surcease from their jurisdiction, and devolve it on a committee for the bounds of every synod, of the number whereof they shall make the equal half, to judge and determine all matters of planting and purging, and whatever falls to be controverted, whose acts the synods shall have no power to reverse without the previous advice of a general consultatory committee out of all the synods, whereof also the equal half shall be of their judgement, and nominated by them.



When we in the synod of Glasgow desired something like this in a far other case, we being the right-constitute synod, and they a schismatick faction, we justly fearing their unjust violence, and more dissimilitudes apparent in our case, of their demand for the whole land, yet they passionately cried down our motion, and rather chose to reject all peace with us than to hear of any such overture.

4. All plantations must be taken from the congregations and sessions, to be put in the hand of a few whom they count the godly party; for they avow that the plurality of all congregations in the land are so ignorant and scandalous or ungracious, that they are to be excluded from the communion and voice in chusing of a minister. By this device they hope quickly to fill all vacant places with intrants of their faction, as they are careful to do wherever they have any power to do it. 5. Though we should yield to them all their desires, yet do they expressly deny to us that which we count the essence of Presbyterial subordination, a submission to the sentence of our judicatories for time to come. They seem to be for the thing in general, but not for a submission to our judicatories in their present corrupt constitution of so many unfit members. In this case of the church they plead for a liberty both of judgement and practice, both to dissent and contradict the sentences of the best synods of Scotland, such as Lothian and Fife, in any planting and purging that is contrary to their mind. And a 6th now they are come to, a few of them to name some twenty-nine of their faction which were of the commission 1650, to be a settled judicatory, with absolute jurisdiction over the whole church, ever while they think time to call a general assembly. This to us is worse than Mr Gillespie's ordinance, which they so much cry down; for it was alone for stipends in order to planting; but this is an usurpation of the whole immediate jurisdiction; worse than Independency, that encroaches not on others, but exempt only their own adherents from other's jurisdiction; worse than Episcopacy, that never made such havock, and so causelessly of all presbyteries and synods at once. The event, is feared, will be the forfeiture of all our ecclesiastick liberties, in taking them out of both our hands, to be deposited in an Erastian state-committee, till our remonstrants think fit to join with us; whereof I have no hopes, as things now



go in the land. Near two years ago I drew up the state of the questions they had then started.

For matters of state at home and abroad, we meddle not at all with them; only we observe the footsteps of divine providence as they offer themselves to the eyes of all beholders. Admiral Blake's navy has cost a vast charge, without any profit. The expedition of Hispaniola, as I read it in a London description, is full of shame and loss, both of charges and men, has drawn on an open war with Spain which will hurt our trade. Our empty coffers will not be furnished with all the ordinary incomes, though great, and much greater than before, nor by this new pressure of the cavaliers, the separating of them from others, even those against whom no new transgression is alledged, only for the holding down, as is professed, the great and restless faction of the royalists, we fear do more harm than good, albeit Lillie's prognostick we count merely knavish.

Since I came from Edinburgh, there are two or three papers more past betwixt us and the remonstrants, which make our wounds wider, especially since by violence they avow openly to oppress us; one part of them under Wariston and Mr Guthrie's patronage, though disallowed by others, puts into their hand the power of making all the churches void. They look by their supplicating of the English for erecting of themselves in a commission for purging, against which the presbytery of Edinburgh has given an honest testimony. Another part, under the patronage of Mess. Gillespie and Livingston, by the English ordinance, takes the power of planting all with their own friends, though passionately disclaimed by the other. Against these fearful oppressions we have no human help. We cannot make such cordial application to the English as they do; so we fear they shall lend their power to the other for our hurt; whereof, and other things, you see how I express myself to a friend at London; the return to which you have here also. I break off here till the next occasion. My service to your kind wife.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

December 31. 1655.





196. For Mr Spang, at Middleburg. September 1. 1656.

Reverend and Dear Cousin,

— As to our plantations, I am glad my hand is free of them totally. Mr James Ramfay, a very able and sufficient youth as we have of his age, planted by us in Lenzie, to the great satisfaction of all, except a very few, who chose an English sectary, to whom they promised the stipend; when, after two year's trouble, the Englishman removed, our brethren Mess. Gillespie, Durham, Carrstairs, all much obliged to Mr Robert Ramfay for their own places, would not for any intreaty be pleased to let his son live in peace; so we let him go to Lithgow, where he is much better than he could have been where he was: but in his place they have put one evidently of far meaner parts, Mr Henry Forsyth, lately a baxter-boy, laureated within these two years; a little, very feckless-like thing in his person, and mean in his gifts. To him the parish, weary of strife, wherein by the English power they were always oppressed, yielded in silence without opposition. In Campsie likewise, one Mr Archibald Denniston, deposed by them without any considerable cause, much to my grief, and against the hearts of his parish, who loved him, they have planted Mr J. Law within these three years, brought from a pottinger to be laureate. In Rutherglen, against the people's heart, they have planted a little manikin of small parts, whom I never saw; and forced old Mr R. Young, albeit as able yet as ever, to give over his ministry. In Culcart, where they had planted an Englishman against my mind, having, after two or three years trial, enough of him, they thrust him over to Ireland; and are to plant another young thing lately laureate, with small contentment to the people. In Glasgow, Mr A. Gray being dead of a purple fever, of a few days roving, the magistrates would have been at the calling of Mr James Ferguson, one of the most excellent young men of our land; but to this Mr Durham and the rest were so averse, that they were ready publickly to have opposed it: so the magistrates, knowing their inability to carry any call contrary to their mind, yielded to let them call whom they pleased. Mr Durham would have been at Mr J. Law before they put him on Campsie; but Mr Patrick carried it



to Mr Robert Macward, who lately, for inability of body, had left his charge in the college, and evidently was unable for such a charge as Glasgow: yet they put him in *nemine contradicente*, and that without all the ordinary trials, being unable for his health to have undergone them. Appearingly the burthen shortly will crush him, except he go on to do so as he has done yet, frequently to let his place vaik. Through the violence of that party, our church in these parts is in a hard condition, and for the time remediless. They got a little stop lately from whence it was not expected. At Blantyre, Mr John Herriot, of seventy-eight years, having admitted Mr James Hamilton his helper, with two parts of his stipend, because he would not thereafter give over the whole, the presbytery of Hamilton intended a process against him, for small inconsiderable clauses, and deposed him. When he is charged to remove from his house and all he has there, his son, by the friendship of Swinton, get the English to take notice of the violent oppression; who, after a full hearing, decerned the old minister to enjoy all, even what before he had been content to quit. This preparative is dangerous for our whole church; but the unhappy violence of these unadvised men, draws on these evils on themselves and others.

This is like now to be the refuge of all they oppress; but a miserable one. It puts all our church-causes in the hands of the English, who desire to be judges of them according to their Erastian principle, though ordinarily our brethren have the ear of the English to do with them what they please. With much ado your old friend, a right honest and able man, more than the most of his neighbours, Mr Allan Ferguson of Drymen, escaped their hands. The last synod had put a committee to the presbytery of Dunbarton to try a number of slanders noised upon him. When, beside all his elders, ninety-four witnesses are sworn and tried, nothing at all is found against him. This process, and another of his neighbour Mr David Adamson of Pintry, where also, after much noise, nothing was found, has made their fervour of purging in our bounds much to relent; for, as oft I told them, they will find on trial, that the men to be purged out, are on their side, not on ours, if there were any justice. At that same synod, the deposition of Mr R. Hume was ratified, as I was informed, very unjustly. In the other parts of the



the land we see no relenting of our brethrens fervour. Mr Livingston, notwithstanding of all the trouble about the planting of Eccles, has gone on to the like enormous practice at Sproufton, coming in on the presbytery of Dunse, with two or three of the neighbour presbyteries, and planting Mr S. Row, one of their party, contrary to the mind of all the presbytery. Mr Guthrie is still in contest with the people of Stirling, but in more vexation than formerly; for his colleague Mr Matthias Simpson is as heady and bold a man as himself, and has good hearing with the English, so that he is like get the stipend, and Mr Rule to live perquire. Mr James and Wariston are on their old design still, to set up their commission for tyrannizing over the kirk; but it is like the English will not countenance them, the thing is so extremely and evidently unjust; also some of us are fallen in with the English far enough.

The President Broghill is reported by all to be a man exceeding wise and moderate, and by profession a Presbyterian. He has gained more on the affections of the people than all the English that ever were among us. He has been very civil to Mr Douglas and Mr Dickson, and very intimate with Mr James Sharp. By this means, we have an equal hearing in all we have ado with the council; yet their way is exceeding longsome, and all must be done first at London. It is but the other week that Mr Gillespie's absurd orders for stipends was got away. He puts us in hopes of more favour. That much-talked-of respect to Mr Wood, (though I have not yet inquired it of himself), as I hear, was this: Mr Rutherford's daily bitter contentions with him, made him weary of his place exceedingly. The Old college being long vacant, and he the eldest master of it, and for sundry years employed to oversee it almost as Principal, was wished by sundry who loved it and him to be placed there; and there is no doubt he was the fittest man living for that charge. But here was the insuperable difficulty: A fair call could not be got. The five masters who had power to call were divided. One Campbell, a remonstrant, minded the place, and, by his party, was not unlike to have carried it from the English. One Martin, the oldest master then in charge, alledging it to be his right to succeed, with the consent of other two masters, went to the English to suit their favour. The President, I think, on Mr Sharp's information, moved the council,  
without



without Mr Wood's knowledge, to make choice of him for the place. They write a peremptory letter to the ministers and masters of St Andrew's to admit Mr Wood Principal to the Old college without delay. When the university is convened, and the letter read, Mr Campbell protested. The other three were moved to invite him, in obedience to the English command, but not to call him. He accepted the charge. I am glad he is in it, or any other place where he is contented; for indeed he is the most serviceable man our church now has: but I am not yet satisfied of his accepting that place on the English command; for if, in divine providence, they who had right to call, for their own base and hurtful designs refused to call him, I think it was hard for him, upon whatever causes, to meddle with it. I love not that we should justify or harden the English in their usurpations in our university-rights; but these things I will debate with himself at meeting.

Another passage of ours I was not satisfied with. Swinton was excommunicated for his early compliance with the English. Sundry of his friends were earnest to have him relaxed, that in their necessary affairs they might have the more liberty to employ his help. He was either so proud, or so feared to offend his masters, that he would neither acknowledge a fault, nor petition for favour. When his friends dealt with the presbytery of Edinburgh, they sent two to confer with him. All that they reported from him was, that he was very willing to live and die in the communion of our church; and that the reason of his not appearance when cited to the commission of Perth, was not contempt, but just fear of his life. Upon this report, without any supplication, he is relaxed the next Sabbath by Mr Ja. Hamilton. This I did not like at all, as a mere scorn of our discipline. Our brethren would not long be behind with us: for at once the presbytery of Ayr relaxed good William Govan, who was, at least, on the scaffold at the King's execution, if no more, excommunicated on the like occasion; yea, the synod of Glasgow and Ayr took the censure off Mr Gillespie and Mr Naismith, without any acknowledgement of a fault, or desire to be relaxed. To this strange enormity all formally voted; only Mr Ferguson, Mr Kirkaldie, Mr G. Young, were absent. Mr J. Bell and Mr Alexander Nisbet removed themselves; but no dissent was entered.





Our state is in a very silent condition. Strong garrisons over all the land, and a great army both of horse and foot; for which there is no service at all. Our nobles lying up in prisons, and, under forfeitures or debts, private or publick, are for the most part either broken or breaking. No more word of delivering Crawford, Lauderdale, Eglington, Montgomery, Ogilvie, Marischal, and many more, than was the first hour. Glencairn lies still in the castle of Edinburgh; Col. Borthwick betrayed him. The letter he brought to him from the King, he delivered to Monk before it came to Glencairn's hands, and his answer of it also before it came to the King; and yet, under the most fearful imprecations can be devised, the villain wrote unrequired, that he had done no such thing. Some say it would have stood hard with Glencairn's life, had it not been the President's favour procured by Mr Sharp.

The dyvour-act, of lands for creditors at twenty years purchase, has made much clamour; albeit none who have any credit have made use of it. All the advocates are returned to the bar. Balcolmy and Ker make some more dispatch in causes than was before. The great seal of Scotland, with Cromwell's large statue on horseback, *Olivarius, Dei gratia, reip. Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, Protector*, under the arms of Scotland, *Pax quaritur bello*, is given to Desborough; the signet, with the great seals of the secretary's place, to Col. Lockhart; the registers to Judge Smith, and the rest of the places of state to others. The expences, delays, and oppressions in law-suits, are spoken of to be as great as ever.

This Spanish war has wracked many of our merchants; albeit, in God's mercy, as little loss has befallen on our neighbours of this town as on any of the isle; for except one little ship taken by the Biscayners near Bourdeaux, and James Bell's ship, which, with himself, by a pitiful misguiding, was blown up almost in the harbour, we had no more loss this year, whereas a world of others have been wracked; many more in a few months than was all the time of your war. It is much talked, that it is both your men and ships that serve the Spaniards in all these spoils. Our fleet, waiting in vain on the coast of Spain, does little good to the merchants on these coasts; and yet the taxes with us are great. The maintenance was towards L. 10,000 Sterling a-month. They say the excise will be double; so that the revenue will be above 300,000 pounds



pounds Sterling a-year, the half whereof is never together among us. The truth is, the money was never so scarce here, and grows daily scarcer; and yet it is thought this parliament in September is indicted mainly for new taxations. What England may bear, to whom the Protector remitted the half of their monthly maintenance of £. 120,000 Sterling, I know not; but Scotland, whose burden has been triple, besides the fines, forfeitures, debts, and other miseries, seems unable to bear what lies on already. Wise men think the Protector wiser than to desire the empty title, when he has much more already than the thing. No man looks for any good from this parliament, but fear evil; yet all who are wise think, that our evils would grow yet more if Cromwell were removed. They think his government, as it is, will be far better than a parliament, or any thing else they expect; only all think this war with Spain needless and hurtful, and hope by the parliament it will be taken away.

There was never such solicitation for votes to be chosen commissioners as now among us. It is like there shall be none of the whole number more cordial for all the Protector's desires, be what they may, than these that come from Scotland. It is said, Mr Guthrie and Wariston, with their friends, have been sitting more than this fortnight in Edinburgh, drawing their papers, to be sent by some of their number to the Protector or parliament. They were so absurd, that Mr Gillespie, who was expected to have been sent up to agent them, turned his back, and left them: yet they will not want agents. We think my Lord Broghill, commissioner for the city of Edinburgh, will cross their injustice and irrational violence. However, our minds will be in no peace till we see what this parliament will bring forth. No man I know expects any good from it, and that is our condition for the present, that we can be hardly worse.

Through God's mercy our town, in its proportion, thrives above any in all the land. The word of God is well loved and regarded, albeit not as it ought, and we desire; yet in no town of our land better. Our people have much more trade in comparison than any other. Their buildings increase strangely both for number and fairness. It is more than doubled in our time. I pray God to increase his blessing on this place of our birth, albeit I am afraid for it; for on Sunday was eight days, at four



in the morning, August 17. there was a sensible earthquake in all the parts of the town, though I felt it not. Five or six years ago, there was another, in the afternoon, which I felt, and was followed with that fearful burning, and all the other shakings has been among us since. The Lord preserve us from his too-well-deserved judgements.

The King is so far forgot here, that not one, so far as I know, keeps any correspondence with him; nor do we hear at all what he does or intends. Yet I think divers pray to God for him, and wish his restitution. But if men of my Lord Broghill's parts and temper be long among us, they will make the present government more beloved than some men wish. From our publick praying for the King, Broghill's courtesy, more than his threats, brought off our leading men. About the time of abstaing I was a more earnest supplicant for him than ever; whereupon some of my good neighbours deferred me to the council as an earnest prayer for the King. This was false; for in doctrine I struck not on that string; only, so long as I might do it without scandal, or reflecting on my wiser and better brethrens omitting it, I never passed by it in prayer.

When in that we had yielded, we were like to be put farther to it. Our unhappy remonstrants still occasioned trouble. Mr Livingston made no bones to preach and pray publicly with the English, and persuaded Mr Gillespie to begin before him; so that Mr Patrick, when he came to Edinburgh, made no scruple to preach in that English church to their council and judges, and go home in coach with the President, and say grace at his table; yea, in Glasgow to preach to their circular court, and feast the judges in his house. This made the council endeavour to have so many of our best preachers appointed by turns to come to Edinburgh, and preach to them. When my opinion was craved in this unhappy motion, I gave it an answer, and, by God's blessing, got it crushed for the time; but how long, I know not; for Mr Livingston being solicited to go to Ireland, was sent over there by his remonstrant brethren to make a visit and return. It has been their design this long time to fill Ireland with their party; and they have come too good speed. I did what I could to help that evil; albeit not with that success I would. Mr John, so soon as he went over, he goes immediately to Dublin, and there is content to be employed



to preach to the state. What evil this will work, we know not; especially Wariston and Mr Guthrie's impatience to be out of work, and kept down, inclining them, as some say, to come nearer the English than they did: yet their design being evident to play the tyrants in the whole church, and to put the magistracy of the whole land in their party's hand, which they call the godly, so many will be against them, as it is hoped they will not prevail. Mr Gillespie found their design so unreasonable and irrational, that he left their meeting displeased this last week: yet Sir George Maxwell, who with him is all one, thought the week before to have carried by a number of blue caps of that party, the commission of the sherrifdom of Ayr and Renfrew to himself, on purpose, as they say, to have been that party's agent with the Protector in all their desires. But my Lord Cochran's diligence and wisdom broke Sir George's design. Time will let us know more of mens secret contrivances, which are yet covered.

This sect of Quakers is like to prove troublesome. They increase much among the English both in England and Ireland. They in a furious way cry down both ministry and magistracy. Some of them seem actually to be possessed with a devil, their fury, their irrational passions, and bodily convulsions, are so great. Lieut. Osburn, one of our first apostates to the English, and betrayers to his power of our army, for which he had great favours and rewards from Cromwell himself, is an open leader to them in the streets of Edinburgh, without any punishment. Sundry in Clydesdale, of the most zealous remonstrant-yeoman, have turned so, and their increase is feared, which is the just recompence of admitting the beginnings of error. They are patient as yet of strokes; but if the Fifth-monarchy-men of the late parliament had prevailed, or if their party go on in its growth, their fury is like to go to unmerciful killing (with their predecessors) of their opposers.

Our church-strifes are not like to end. The remonstrants make it their endeavour to put themselves, as the commission 1650, or under some such notion, in a committee to purge and plant all Scotland, with the English allowance to them as the godly party; one of the vilest, most shameful, and tyrannick tricks, that ever was heard of in any church in any time. To prevent this, our brethren there-cast sent up, with Broghill, our professed friend Mr James Sharp, to Cromwell; with what instructions,





tions, I know not; but I hear very fair and honest. The remonstrants cry out on this message, though alone to guard against and prevent their mischievous designs. They will not be long a-sending one after him, to desire openly, what long, by their letters and secret agents, they have been dealing for. This strife at this time is shameful and dangerous. I love it not. My advice was never sought to it; but on our part it seems necessary. I wish it may end better than I fear. My love and service to your kind wife, oft remembered by Harry, and all your three daughters, whom I pray God to bless.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

197. To Mr Spang.

Cousin,

THAT which oft I promised you, a large account of our affairs this twelvemonth, you have it, but in a confused way for want of leisure. Our church has been pretty quiet; our troubling remonstrants not having yet prevailed with the English to get authority from them to exercise their tyranny among us. The great instrument of God to cross their evil designs, has been that very worthy, pious, wise, and diligent young man, Mr James Sharp. The purpose of the few brethren that were on the advice of his going to London, upon my Lord Broghill's desire, you may see in his instructions, subscribed, and at first seen, only by three, Mess. Douglas, Dickson, and Wood. The remonstrants agreed not very well among themselves. My Lord Wariston, Mr Gillespie, and Mr Guthrie, these three restless heads, looked not one way. But after the affronts Mr Gillespie received from the synod of Lothian, and Wariston's domestick straits, had made him content, contrary to his former resolutions, to embrace his prior place of register from his Highness; and Mr Guthrie's continual vexation by Mr Simpson his colleague; and Mr Simpson of Airth being provoked by the synod of Perth's meddling with the great scandal of the fatherless child, reflecting so on him, they resolved at last to go up together, and openly petition his Highness for all their desires.

When the synod of Glasgow had taken off the censure  
of



of the general assembly from Mess. Gillespie and Naismith, in the strange way I wrote to you of before, that party thought it advantageous to them to have that act of Glasgow acknowledged by other synods. For this end they resolve to send Mr Gillespie correspondent from Glasgow to the synod of Lothian. They thought they would not refuse him for many causes; and if they admitted him, it was a leading case to the other synods to pass from the act of the general assembly in its censure without all satisfaction. That message was not much to the mind of Mr Gillespie himself, but Mr Carstairs and others would needs have it put upon him. When he came, his commission was scrupled at by Mr John Smith and others, and laid aside to be cognosed upon. They gladly would have shifted the matter, and eschewed all din, being unwilling to enter in contest. But Mr Gillespie's high humour would not permit it; but he must needs have their positive answer to admit or reject his commission. They lenified the question, and since he would have it put, they made it, *Admit or Commit*. When the votes almost of all was for referring it to a committee to be cognosed on, he took it so ill, that he broke out in railing, telling them, "Their sword was but of wood, and their arm was broken," and much more evil language; to which Mr Douglas gave sharp and stout replies. I knew this irritation would not be easily forgot. It was a spur for their voyage to London. There was a very foul scandal broke out on Mr James Simpson of Airth. A young woman, familiar with him, and oft in his house, was found with child. She granted the child; but denied she had known any man. Mr James, with the advice of his presbytery, Mr James Guthrie, and other two or three (for their number is no greater in the remonstrant-presbytery of Stirling) take the woman's confession, in face of the congregation, that she was with child, and withal her purgation by oath, that she knew no man. For this Mr James and she are both cited to answer to the synod of Perth. Both of them send in to the synod a declinature (both written by Mr James Simpson's hand) as of a corrupt judicatory. While this is in agitation, Mr Guthrie is sent to London to wait on till his four fellow-commissioners should be ready to come. Their commission I did not see; but it was such as some of their own, as Mr Carstairs and others, refused to subscribe. We may know it by their



their proposals, which to the very last they pressed to obtain from the Protector, viz. 1. An order from him, that within the bounds of every synod, there should be named a committee of equal number of assembly-men and remonstrants, who should have power to determine all differences in planting and purging in all the presbyteries of the bounds. 2. That there should be a committee of delegates from all the synods, of equal number of assembly-men and remonstrants, to determine finally all differences ecclesiastick in the whole land. 3. That the Protector should nominate a committee to plant kirks, and that the power of giving of stipends in all vacant churches should be in this committee. 4. That the parliament should renew the act of classes, to the end the places of civil power should be in the hand of their party. The last they obtained for Lieut.-Gen. Lambert, and the General-Majors in the parliament were much their friends, and others, whom their diligent agents Garstland and Tweeddale made for them. At first their motion was rejected; but thereafter, when our friends were out of the house, they got it past in an additional proposition. It was intended chiefly for the changing of our Glasgow magistrates; whereupon I moved our brethren of Edinburgh to write to Mr Sharp many reasons to stop the thing if he could. He wrought it so that it passed with much difficulty, and however got private assurances it should do no harm; and so that act of parliament lay as good as dormant, till of late they obtained, on a supplication of procured hands in this town, a letter from the Protector to suspend the new election of magistrates in our burgh till further order. Our late magistrates, with the concurrence almost of all the burghs of Scotland, are dealing with the Protector to get the privileges of their burgh preserved. What will be the issue, we will see ere long.

For the other three desires, Mr Sharp, in divers conferences before the Protector, made them appear so unreasonable, that after more than half a year's importunate solicitation, they could obtain nothing at all. One of the causes of frustrating their hopes was, that the London ministers were flatly for us against them. You see what information I wrote up to Mr Ash, a prime city-minister, to be communicated to all our Presbyterian friends; also to my ancient Mr Rous, one of the council of state. Mr Rutherford wrote to Mr Ash an information



tion in favour of his party; but after both his and mine were read, and Mr Sharp with his five opposites had been heard at length in divers meetings of the city-ministers, all of them professed their dissatisfaction with the way of the remonstrants, and satisfaction with our proceedings. Mr Wood had drawn a representation of our differences, which Mr Hutcheson, in his smoothing, to my sense, had something enervated, not only in its sharpness, but vigour. This Mr Sharp printed at London, which (since these two ready scribes have not answered) did us much good with all intelligent men. The remonstrants finding no Presbyterian friends, plied the Sectaries hardly, prayed oft with them both publicly and privately; so that with all their power these befriended them, I mean Dr Owen, Lockier, and Caryl, and other Independents. Lambert and Flectwood, with the great officers of the army, mostly Anabaptists, were affectionately for them. At last, the Protector being wearied, named a duodenary committee to hear both, and report their judgement to the council. Mr Sharp refused to appear, as being a mere private man, having no commission to transact any thing of publick concernment to the church of Scotland; but being charged at the second meeting, he appeared, and gave such answers to his opposites challenges, that they could get nothing there for a good time. Of the twelve, six were conceived to be Presbyterians, and the rest enemies to our church-discipline. Of the first sort none kept but one, Mr Manton; the other kept very well, and were ready at last to report to the council their advice, all the desires of the remonstrants, as they had reason, being avowed adversaries to our church government. When it was at this nick, Mr Ash, by his letters, procured Mr Godfrey, and Mr Cooper, two Presbyterians, who had been named on the committee, to meet; they, with Mr Manton, after a new full hearing, were so well satisfied with Mr Sharp's replies, that they drew up their judgement by way of testimony against the remonstrants desires. This wrought so upon the council, that they resolved not to interpose in our debates, only to write a letter to the ministers of Edinburgh, Mess. Douglas, Dickson, Trail, Surling, to agree at home among ourselves. Yet in this letter, by canny conveyance of their friend Mr Scobel, I think, clerk to the council, they had got settled in a very hurtful clause, that where there was difference





about stipends, it should be determined by the testimony of four named in Mr Gillespie's orders, which the parliament had expressly abolished. That clause was represented both to the Protector and counsellors to be so unreasonable, that it is like there shall no letter at all be sent us. The storm we were afraid for, by God's mercy, for a time is put by; but how soon it will waken again we do not know. Mr Guthrie left them before they came to their greatest contest, whether, for want of monies, or difference among themselves, I know not; though they put all the ministers in our bounds of their mind to pay, at the first, forty shillings Sterling, for their maintenance, and all of their party, men and women, to a voluntary contribution; whence out of Glasgow, some say, there went up L. 180 Sterling; yet their charge was so great, and their friends charity after the first fervour so cold, that all of them were straitened enough for money, as I was informed. Also, they say, they agreed not so well among themselves. Certain it is that Mr Guthrie opposed my Lord Wariston's resuming his place of register. If it had been upon both their professed principle, of the unlawfulness to take places subordinate to an unlawful power, I would the better have excused it; but Mr Guthrie, (as one who should have known it with the best, informed me), with all his power, did labour secretly to get that place to his confident friend Swinton, with the burden of a yearly pension of L. 300 Sterling out of it to Wariston. I know not what to say to it. However, Mr Guthrie left them in the midst, having obtained nothing but a pension of L. 100 Sterling to his colleague Mr Rule, out of the treasury of vacant stipends, the spoil of other churches, which now is dried up. Wariston is now also returned, having with his place obtained the most of the registers which were carried out of the betrayed (as many say) castle of Edinburgh to the tower of London. Mr Gillespie remains there sorely sick, some think in displeasure that his desires were not granted. However, at his last going to Hampton-court, he got no speech of the Protector; but he went immediately from Hampton-court to Womblerton, Lambert's house, being Saturday at night; and having engaged to preach on Sunday's morning, before sermon he had five stools; and after his painful preaching, fourscore before he rested. Thereafter, for many days, a great flux and fever, together with the  
breach



breach of an ulcer in his guts, put him to the very brink of death. Many thought it the evident hand of God upon him, and would not have sorrowed for his death. For myself I was grieved, foreseeing the hurt of our college by his removal.

While these debates at London continued, the restless humour of that party at home was somewhat quiet, waiting for the issue. Our synod of Glasgow, whether for want of matter, or being deserted and contemned by many, have passed this year without din. Mr Robert Semple of Lesmahago's foul process has been referred to a committee, and little done in it, the man being one of their side. Mr John Hamilton of Innerkip, a prime man among them, of a long time under very gross scandals, is not so much as challenged. Mr Henry Semple, a busy agent for them, prevented his process by death. The synod of Lothian and Perth have been careful to try accurately the challenges of fundry.

The Quakers make some trouble among us, and increase in Lenzie, Douglas, and other places, most where that faction have been troublesome. Thus does our church-affairs stand.

For our state, all is exceeding quiet. A great army in a multitude of garrisons abides above our heads, and deep poverty keeps all estates exceedingly at under. The taxes of all sorts are so great, the trade so little, that it is a marvel if extreme scarcity of money, end not, ere long, in some mischief. What came out of the doors of the parliament was this. All who came thither were complying and confident men, and none more ready to serve his Highness in every thing, than all that came from Scotland. If any were doubted, they were held off till their commissions were well examined. The maliciousness of the faction with us kept out Commissary Lockhart, commissioner for Glasgow, a large month; yet at last, by Ambassador Lockart's letter from France, he got in. The great work at first was, to settle the excise, and maintenance for the army. A vast sum of money was requisite for the garrisons in England, Scotland, and Ireland, for the navies in Spain, at Dunkirk, and Jamaica, for the army in France, for the Protector's court. When this was agreed to without all contradiction, it was so lild by a few of the Protector's safest friends, not above five, that the city should petition the parliament to advise the Pro-



rector to take upon him the government, and title of King, after the way which, in a long paper of advice, was set down. To this none did oppose but the officers of the army. To take them off, one of the articles of government was, the erection of a House of Peers, to be nominated by the Protector, who doubtless was to make Lords the chief of these officers: yet the thing was so far against all that was professed, and so oft printed before, that it could not go down at first with them. That which made some of them, especially their head, Lambert, so averse, was his own evident interest; for in all mens eyes he was the heir-apparent to the Protector's power, but the kingship cut him off clearly from that hope. About this, many sharp debates were in and out of the house by the officers. All other were to give the Protector whatever he desired; not so much for recent accidents, which were thought either invented or directed as opportune for that end, viz. the seizing of a number of gentlemen in and about the city, as if Charles Stuart had employed them for a present disturbance of the peace, which fear quickly vanished as totally groundless. Also Sundercomb's plot to kill the Protector with a blunderbuss. The man's denial of all, and poisoning of himself for fear of quartering quick, made not this to appear. The seizing of the declaration and standard of the Fifth-monarchy fools, the imprisoning of Sir Henry Vane in Carisbrook castle, and General-Major Harrison, did quickly vanish. But that which inclined the most to further the Protector's kingship, was their expectation of a regular government thereby, without the perpetuating of a military rule by the sword, to which so vast and arbitrary charges would always be necessary; beside that all expected a more moderate and meek ruling from the Protector and his children, than from Lambert, or any of all the army. Some also were glad of a professed and open royalty, hoping, in time, it might further the return of these whom they counted the lawful heirs of the crown.

When the Protector, as they said, was willing to have come, and declared his willingness to accept, after much debate, private and publick, of the article of kingship, as well as the rest of the advice, that same morning his son-in-law Fleetwood came to him, with some papers, assuring of a strong combination in the army to oppose that motion. Upon the which affrightment, his Highness went



to the painted chamber, and called the House to shew them, that he accepted the government according to the petition and advice in all the articles, except the title of King, which he could not digest. His best and most intimate counsellors, Broghill and Thurloe, thought this a great error; yet it seems the best expedient; for at that time Lambert and the General-Major's power was so great, both in the House and army, that if their obstinacy had continued, they might have overturned all. To prevent this mischief, a few days thereafter he adjourned the parliament from June 27th till October.

In the last day of the parliament, June 27. he was most solemnly installed supreme magistrate in a canopy of state and throne, with a royal purple, furred robe, a sword of state, a sceptre, and a Bible in place of a crown, by the Speaker of the House, Widdrington, and was graced with a sermon and feast. In all the action, the French and Dutch ambassadors stood on his two hands, congratulating in their master's name. The hearts of many were sorry to see in effect all the kingship established on Cromwell in peace. Yet this did not satisfy; for quickly Lambert was called for to a privy conference, wherein declaring himself unwilling to comply in all things, his commission was called for, and he made a man most private. The chief of the army, in a supplication, expressed their adhering to his way. Broghill got passed in parliament a right of L. 1000 a-year for his good service. All men expected, that when so easily Lambert was quashed, the next session of parliament would have quickly made Cromwell king; yet it did not sooner meet, but great miscontentments were apparent. The House of Lords, according to the petition and advice, did sit. Manchester and many would not sit. Cassils disdained it. There were no more peers for Scotland but Wariston and Lockhart: yet the chief of Cromwell's friends were taken out of the House of Commons to fill the other House; and many then came to the House of Commons, who were excluded before, no great friends to him, Scot, Haselrig, Lambert, and many more, who quickly began to move high questions about the power of the militia, the name and power of the other House, to whom the supreme magistrate was to be answerable. Upon their sticking so high, after a few days sitting, they were dissolved; the Protector calling to God to judge betwixt him and them, and they saying,

Amen.





Amen. In his speech he attested God he had rather chosen, at a wood-side, to have kept sheep, than have undertaken the office he had, if the love of the people's peace had not constrained him. He assured of Charles Stuart's readiness to come from Flanders with an army, and sundry lifting men for him in London.

A storm after this was expected, some prodigies seeming to foretell it: A little after his instalment, a magazine of powder blowing up many houses and persons; about the house in Fogo-muir and Dunfe-law, in December, an army of pikemen appearing to many; and some days after, some thousands of cannon, in a formal shape, for many days being seen by many, both English and Scots, made of the snow without the hand of man. For all this, nothing to this day is seen but a deep peace.

It is expected a new parliament may be called, and sundry shires are said to be forming petitions to his Highness to accept of the title of King. Many in the army, both in Scotland and England, are cast out; but who remain, write up their supplication, encouraging the Protector to proceed. It is thought, on the council's act and army's petition, the crown shall be put on, and confirmed by the next parliament. They speak of my Lord Fairfax and Lambert's committing. In a late speech of the Protector to the mayor and aldermen of London, it is still averred, that Charles Stuart is ready to come from Ostend, with 6000 men and 7000 arms. All marvel how this can be; for the English navy is ready about that place to sink all that come that way; and the design of raising men in England is so poor, that none value it, especially when it is so well known by the Protector in every circumstance; besides that the most who profess themselves for the King among us, or over sea, are of so exceeding ill principles and humour, that few wish to be under their power.

I was called to Edinburgh, December 30. to hear Mr Sharp's report. He gave us a very notable relation of every passage, how, by the good hand of God, he had got all the designs of the exceeding busy and bold remonstrants defeated; that the Protector had dismissed him with many good words, assuring he should be loth to grant any to our prejudice. He commended himself in his last speech to four of us in particular, and by name Mr Douglas, Mr Dickson, Mr Blair, and me, professing his sorrow that he was a stumbling-block to us. The reason of this kindness



ness I take to be, 1. My Lord Broghill and Secretary Thurloe's reports of us; 2. That the Presbyterian party in England who adhere to us is exceeding great and strong, and, after the army, is the Protector's chief strength against the sectaries, who generally are out of conceit of him; 3. That our adversaries are sound but inconsiderable, and a heady party, much joining with the way of his adversaries. However, we blessed God that by Mr Sharp's labours was kept off us for a time a much-feared storm. At his coming from London, he appointed a correspondence with one Major Beak, a zealous Presbyterian, for assisting us in what we might have to do. We appointed Mr Wood to draw a short declaration of our willingness to have any tolerable peace with the remonstrants, if so, for time to come, they would promise to be submissive to the established government. This now is printed; but they carp at all we can do or say for peace, except we subject ourselves to their good pleasure. There was something moved in our last meeting of a few, to do a little more for engaging the Protector. I crushed the motion at the beginning, inveighing against it; so for the time it is dead.

The Earl of Rothes is put in the castle on a most shameful occasion. My Lord Howard's sister, married with my Lord Balgony, Rothes's sister's son, General Leslie's grandson; this Howard's wife, a very light woman, came to make a visit to Fife, where her carriage every where was exceeding wanton. Rothes openly bore her too much company, to the offence of many. However, about that time she is got with child, which she bears at London. Her husband finding, that he had not been near her for three or four months from her conception, falls in an outrageous jealousy with her, suspects my Lord Belasis, whom his brother fights in that quarrel; but suspects Rothes more; and in a rage posts towards Scotland to fight Rothes. The Protector hearing of it, causes follow and apprehend Howard, and sends an order in haste to secure Rothes in the castle of Edinburgh, where yet he lies in great infamy.

We are sometimes in fear for your states. Their unkindness to the British family and that of Orange; their needless provocations oft of Sweden, by open favouring of all his enemies, and drawing to their power Brandenburg from him; also their too strict alliance with Spain, and neglect of France, portends no good, though their success  
against



against the Portugal ships in the very bay of Lisbon, and their boasting of the Bishop of Munster unto a peace with the city, were very pleasant to us. They are a very noble member of the Reformed church, which we pray God to help and bless; albeit their state seems to stand but on tottering props, and they have lost much of the love and reputation sometimes they had both at home and abroad. It seems the Spanish patience has sent home the English navy, without all fruit of their three or four years sumptuous attendance, but the loss of Blake their admiral. As for the burning some vessels in the Canaries, it was no great business; since now all the plate seems to be come home without impediment. Mr Patrick Gillespie preached before the Protector in his velvet rarely cut cassock, a very flattering thanksgiving for that signal service, thanking God for the great reformation of the church.

But he whom all men begin to look most on is Charles of Sweden. In his quarrel with Poland, many were not satisfied; and generally all here, for his league with the Protector, did malign him. For myself, since the battle of Leipstick, I have loved the house of Sweden to this day above all foreigners; and, by the strange successes God gives to their valour, I expect more good to the church from them than any other.

Keep all these things to yourself. They are the inside of all our affairs, which I desire none to know from me but yourself alone.

Your sorrowful Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

198. To Mr Spang. November 1658.

Cousin,

—Our church lies as it did. The representation printed by Mr Sharp at London, they durst never essay to answer; but our late declaration of new desires of peace, they answered a part of it with a very bitter pamphlet; to which Mr Rutherford printed a preamble in his preface to a late answer to Hooker. Being desired, I sent my observations on that preamble to Mr Douglas; but on that and their whole pamphlet, Mr Hutcheson has written a very accurate and solid review, with some additions of Mr Wood's; all which I think are now on the press. It is ve-



ry like the end of this obstinate difference will be a formal separation: the sooner the better for the kirk; for they abide among us only to increase their party; and if they were formally separated, they could do us the less harm.

The country lies very quiet; it is exceeding poor; trade is nought; the English have all the money. Our Noble families are almost gone: Lennox has little in Scotland unfold; Hamilton's estate, except Arran and the barony of Hamilton, is sold; Argyle can pay little annualrent for 700,000 or 800,000 merks; and he is no more drowned in debt than in publick hatred, almost of all, both Scots and English; the Gordons are gone; the Douglasses are little better; Eglinton and Glencairn on the brink of breaking; many of our chief families estates are cracking, nor is there any appearance of any human relief for the time. What is become of the King and his family we do not know. Some talk, that he should be in the Hague. Many take his unkindness to Balcarras very ill; especially that he should oppose his Lady's provision to the oversight of the little Prince of Orange. His obstinate observance of Hyde offends all; but what he minds, no man here knows, and few care. The Protector's death was unexpected: the way of it we do not learn; men speak as they list. What some speak, of troubles of body and mind, and, after a swoon, the crying out of the devil and a northern army, must be but a fable. We were afraid for trouble after his death; but all is settled in peace. We doubted what might become of the officers of the army their petition for the generality of Fleetwood: if they insist in it, it cannot but breed evil blood; but they are wiser than to differ when some would be glad of it.

In Edinburgh, at their election, they fell on a passage against the mind of many. Sir Andrew Ramsay, a right sharp young man, but very proud, had carried himself for two years in the place of Provost, very haughtily; and in his abode at London had been at vast charges to the town for no profit; yet was still in hope to have got from the Protector what might have done the town good in their exceeding low condition. Mr Thompson, the clerk, who had brought him to his place, became very ungracious to him, by the suggestion most of Bailie Jausie, who desiring to have his son conjunct clerk with Mr W. Thompson,





son, was refused, on fear that such a conjunction should put himself to the door. Upon this difference, the Provost, and that Bailie, did what they could to bear down the clerk, and were ready, when able, to have thrust him from his place. The clerk, and all the town, would most gladly have had Archibald Sydeserf for Provost, the far fittest for the charge: but Ramsay kept Sydeserf from the leets, according to the late act of the English parliament, for his guilt of the engagement; and got on the leets himself, Bailie Jausie, and (being persuaded that none would give him a vote) Sir James Stuart. Thompson finding it so, he wrought underhand, that any living might be chosen before his enemies Ramsay or Jausie. Thus Sir James carried it. This offended many, and feared them, lest (the man being very wise and active, and an open favourer of the remonstrants) it might make a great change in Edinburgh and all the land for that party's advancement. When I met with Thompson, my good friend, I railed on him, that for revenge of his private suit, and spleen against Ramsay, he had betrayed the publick interest into the hands of a protestor. I was impatient of all apologies; yet I hear Sir James has given assurance enough to Mr Douglas, and others, and denies his remonstrantism. For myself, I do not well believe, nor much trust him; but fear the great evil of this prank of the clerk: Sir James once cast him out of his place; if he do it again, no man will pity him.

Being weary, I have now laid aside my chronology. I have drawn the sacred and profane story shortly from the fountains through the Old Testament, in seven epochs, to every one of which I have subjoined the most of the ordinary questions of chronology; and, after a pretty free debate with all sorts of men, determine them after mine own mind. I have also set down the story of the New Testament, the first epocha of it to the death of John the Evangelist, and at the back of it, seventeen of the chiefest questions. Being tired, I subside. It may be I revise it, and add more questions, especially from the Apocalypse. Therefore what you find of new books that may further me in this design, let the College have them. I think we want few of the old. This year's study I cast it upon the whole head of justification, most to meet with Bishop Forbes, printed lately at London by Mr Thomas Sydeserf, Bishop of Galloway, and our moderate mid-men, whom I have



have esteemed, ever since I knew them, real Papists in the most and main; also to meet with Baxter, whom, albeit I highly esteem for piety and learning, yet I think a very unhappy broiler, a full avowed Amiraldist, and a great confounder of the head of justification. I pray you in your first to Voetius, remember my hearty service to him, and tell him from me, that many his lovers here long for a third volume of his Disputations; also, that they exceedingly desire some Exercitations from him on the way of Amiral, and that the heads of justification were vindicated by him, from Baxter and Forbes, and all other adversaries. We love here very well Maresius's writs, all but his bitter flytings with Voetius. We long to hear, that these two very eminent and useful men were better friends. What you sent us of Jesuit Sempé is but a preface to his *Dictionarium Mathematicum*, which we pray you search for.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

199. To Mr Spang. January 31. 1661.

Cousin,

I long much now to hear how it goes with you and your family, and what is become of Dr Strang's book; for it is long since I have heard from you. As you desired, and as my custom is, I give you here an account of our affairs since my last long letter; though you possibly know all, yet it is not unfit you should know our sense and conception of them also. We expected this year for great quietness at home, and for trouble abroad; but God, who governs all, has much disappointed both our hopes and fears, making far more confusion at home and quietness abroad, than was expected. When the Portuguese had defeated the Spanish army at Elvas, and Turenne had possessed so many places in the midst of Flanders; the English being master of Dunkirk, and, with their navy on the coast of Spain, fearing the plate-fleet from coming home; the Swedes being ready to swallow up Denmark, and thereafter, with his French and Dutch friends, to fall on the Emperor, a child; the prosperous fight of Ragousi, of the Venetians, and the Basha of Aleppo, increasing the tumults in Constantinople: these things



made us expect great changes abroad. But before we were aware the scales turned. France, in the midst of his victories, stopped; on what true motive we cannot dream. His alliance with his cousin of Spain seemed not so desirable, the Lady being so far in years beyond the King, and no great matter for tocher offered, as we can hear. How Piemontilli, who cheated the poor Queen of Sweden out of her religion, her kingdom, and reputation, should have got the Cardinal of France so far enchanted as to lay down arms, when they most prospered, we marvel, and wait for the end. In the mean time, Spain has got time to breathe; the riches of his sea-landed fleet, the death of Modena, the discontent of Savoy for the French refusal of his sister, after the interview at Lyons; Arch-Duke Sigismund's readiness to march to Flanders with the Imperial army; the changes in England drawing our thoughts home for the time; the Pope's obstinate adherence still to the Spaniard against Portugal; the Queen of Spain's two sons have put that old languishing King once again on his feet; your states beating of the Swedish navy; Sweden's repulses from his too furious and unreasonable assaults of Copenhagen; the Imperial, Brandenburg, and Polish army, falling on Pomerania; the Dutch league of Cologne, Mentz, and others, making no diversion; France lying off; the English navy's going home, make the valour of Sweden to be overpowered, and also doubtful of the event; for we do not expect any agreement of Denmark without all his confederates; and that they will never put Denmark in the poor terms of Roschild's capitulation. However, the fearful ruining of all Denmark's country, and the stopping of Sweden in all his designs through the strong armies leagued against him, seems to be the work chiefly of your states, on some reasons of their own, more than yet are visible to the world. We bless God, that less blood is yet shed in these bounds than we feared. We are sorry for the ruining of the Prince of Holstein and Courland. The Turks also seem to be in a much better condition; the Persian invasion of Babylon being a mere fable; Cassa of Aleppo and all his party ruined; Ragossi put to depend on the Emperor for a subsistence; the Vizir, by sea, putting in Candia what men he will; the Muscovites victory against the Tartars and Cossacks being of no consequence: so where we expected a quick overturning of  
states



states and empires in a short time, affairs are so turned about, that what was shaking is more firmly established.

But with us all contrary: our very firm-like foundations in a moment overturned. The Protector Oliver endeavouring to settle all in his family, was prevented by death before he could make a testament. He had not supplied the blank with his son Richard's name by his hand, and scarce with his mouth could he declare that much of his will. There were no witnesses of it but Secretary Thurloe and Thomas Goodwin. Some did fearfully flatter him as much dead as living. Thomas Goodwin, at the last before his death, in his prayer, is said to have spoke such words: "Lord, we pray not for thy servant's life, for we know that is granted; but to haste his health, for that thy people cannot want." And Mr Sterry in the chapel after his death, "O Lord, thy late servant here is now at thy right hand, making intercession for the sins of England." Both these are now out of favour at court as court-parasites. But the most spoke, and yet speak, very evil of him; and, as I think, much worse than he deserved of them. His burial was large as magnificent as any king of England. Richard immediately sat down on his chair; and, after a most solemn instalment, got addressees almost from all the shires, cities, regiments of the armies in England, Scotland, Ireland, Dunkirk, from the navy, from the ministry, Presbyterian and Independent, Anabaptistick, all striving who should be first and most promising. All neighbour-states, of France, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Brandenburg, Hamburg, Portugal, congratulating his succession. No appearance of the smallest air of opposition, till the officers of the army began to petition for a general, and payment of their arrears. For their satisfaction, a parliament was summoned against the 27th of January. This did meet frequently. Some say it was pretty well chosen, of men who for the most had good designs for the publick, and aimed at a solid settlement both of church and state; but among them were men for contrary designs. The first fencing was about the act of recognition: for albeit, at the entry in the Houses, every one took the oath in the humble petition and advice; yet when it came to an act of recognition, many and sharp debates arose. It was carried to acknowledge Richard for Protector; but withal, that the bill could not pass till the limitations of his power, the





the full security of the privileges of parliaments, and liberty of the subjects, should pass in the same act. A committee was appointed for that work, and Sir Harry Vane set in the chair. The House of Lords did pass it, but in a poor and slighting way of another House. In the mean time, Opdam, with the Dutch fleet, passed to the Sound. All were alarmed with this; and in a very short time, the Protector, with the consent of all, sent Montague with as great a fleet, to wait upon them. All did expect a present breach betwixt us and you; but since your fleet did nothing but supply Copenhagen with some men and victuals, and did not transport any of the confederate army to raise the siege; the English and Holland instructions have been, not to fight, and so to do but little service to either party all this long summer. Whether you will do so still, when the English are returned, we will shortly see.

The parliament's next work was about pay to the army. This was, and yet is, a business almost inextricable. The land-armies in Scotland, England, Ireland, Flanders, and Jamaica, with the navy, reckoning every frigate of 40 guns to a regiment of foot, could not be within 100,000 men of daily pay; the revenue being all exactly counted, did not amount to L. 1,900,000 Sterling; the necessary charge of the army and state was above 2,200,000; it was no marvel then that the arrears of the army should exceed 2,500,000, and the Protector's debt many hundred thousand pounds also: how all this should be paid without the country's ruin, was the parliament's great care. While they are about this, the officers of the army have their daily meetings in Fleetwood's lodging or Wallingford-house. The Anabaptistick and Republican party had, by many papers, which now are printed, been secretly, for a long time, plying Fleetwood and the officers in conscience, to return to their first principles, to overthrow Oliver's selfish innovations, to abolish the other house, and all government by one, under whatsoever name. The parliament finding these people's addresses take much with the officers, and that such meetings on such high consultations could not stand with their authority, resolved an act for dissolving the meeting of Wallingford-house, and to command all the officers to attend their several charges in the three kingdoms, and to take an oath of obedience to the present parliament. While the  
other



other house is advising on that vote, the Protector joins with it, and accordingly commands the officers to be gone to their charges. He and the house supposed that they had so great a part of the army and city for them, that there was no hazard of any force: but they found themselves quickly mistaken; for the officers, with all speed, making a rendezvous at the back of St James's park in the Pall-Mall, at eleven o'clock at night, before the Protector had provided any thing for opposition, they came immediately to Whitehall, and made the Protector consent, under the great seal, not to the adjourning, (which at first would have satisfied), but the dissolution of the parliament. To this most hardly he did consent; but his uncle Desborough, and brother Fleetwood, drew him to it with firm promises of the army's readiness still to serve him. When the officers saw the parliament so easily dissolved, they found themselves not secure, till, contrary to Fleetwood and Desborough's mind, they made the Protector lay down his place, and took, for a time, the government of all into their own hands. To this also the Protector did quietly submit, and, from a very great prince, did descend to a very private and quiet gentleman. The officers immediately put down the council of state; removed all the Protector's confidants out of the army; the regiments of the Protector, Ingoldby, Whally, Goff, Falconbridge, Howard, and others, were given to Lambert, Overton, and such whom Oliver had outed. The tower was taken from Barkstead, the great seal from Nat. Fiennes, and a great change made. But the officers were quickly weary of the burden of the parliament. After much advisement, they fell on a very unexpected overture, to sit down with a parliamentary power, so many of the long parliament that remained not cast out, when the Protector, in the year 1652, had dissolved them. Of these they found in the city and about it, about forty; who, with Lenthal their speaker, they moved to sit down in the house, the 6th of May; who since that time have ruled as a parliament. At the very first, all the army's proposals passed in acts of parliament. A council of state of thirty-one was constituted. All this was done without any din, except what Mr Prin and some other sharp pamphleteers made; which they misregarded. For the city of London, and the most of all the regiments in the three nations, sent them congratulatory addresses, so full of good words



words as ever were made to either of the Cromwells; whose names by many were then torn in the worst language, pictures, and pamphlets, that could be. Some stir was expected from Henry in Ireland, Monk in Scotland, and some other of the Protector's friends; but all came to just nothing.

The new old parliament's first and chief work was, to constitute the army. A committee of nomination was to nominate every officer in every regiment; the Crouner, Lieutenant, Major, even Captain, Ensign, &c. All these were appointed to come to the bar of the House, to receive their new commissions, and make their oath there to the parliament. This was a long and sashious work, and is not yet ended. Many officers were left out without any accusation. Nothing of this was the work of the General, which many took for a slighting of him. The army endured all this as coming from the hands of their trusty friends. But another work of the parliament startled them more; the establishing of the militia of the counties in such hands as the parliament nominated. These went, if complete, to the number of 20,000 horse and 80,000 foot, to be paid by the counties when they were in service. This was a visible curb to the army's power, and a hazard to their pay; for the country was unable to pay both: but it seems the country-militia was but for a time.

While these things are in doing, there arises a general discontent among the people every where in England; which bred a conspiracy in many shires, to take arms at several rendezvouses the 18th of August. But before the 1st of August all was revealed: Massey, Titus, and others, from the King, were said to have been for divers months at work in the city and country to make a party. The chief stickling was where least expected, in Cheshire and Lancashire. Sir George Booth had drawn most of the people after him. The report of this flew every where, and increased the number and strength of the conspirators hugely above truth; for when it came to the proof, they were found inconsiderable. Fleetwood and the militia of London kept down the city, the rising whereof was most feared. A few old troops, and the new militia of the shires, prevented, and easily suppressed, the rendezvouses in Kent, Hertfordshire, Gloucestershire, Nottingham, Darby, Leicester, Shropshire, and other places. Lambert, with 4000 or 5000 horse and foot, making a



quick march northward, met with Sir George Booth at a bridge some miles from Chester: his 10,000 horse were become 2000 horse and foot. The dispute was nought, scarce half an hour. Sir George had not 30 killed, and Lambert hardly one. Chester, Manchester, Preston, Liverpool, rendered on the first summons; Sir George, fleeing towards London in womens apparel, was taken at Newport Pagnel, the Earl of Darby in Shrewsbury. In a very few days all was composed without blood. Sir George Booth's confessions, they say, are so liberal, that many talk he has been but an emissary of purpose to discover who were disaffected to the parliament, to have them crushed; but others, who know the gravity of the gentleman, and consider his declaration, do not believe this, nor his rumoured confessions. At the first, many of the Presbyterian ministers in the city and country were said to be on this plot; but this likewise appears now to be a vain report. Ere long, doubtless, we will hear of all the bottom of the business; for the time we know no more but what the Diurnal tells us.

So soon as this was over, the army was careful to cause the parliament dissolve, and pay off the county-militia, that it might not stand when there was more use for it than to be a visible curb to them. Yet the people's general discontentment remains: for though the decay of trade has increased the poverty of the country, yet the necessities of the army and navy increase the taxations very much, nor is yet any government established. The parliament and army agree against all monarchy, whether of Kings or Protectors, and against a House of Lords; but what form of republick to settle, this they differ on. Some are for the perseverance, if not the perpetuity, of this part of the old parliament that now sits; others for a new parliament of Commons, chosen according to the qualifications which this parliament shall agree upon; others for a parliament of 2000 or 3000 of the people, with a co-ordinate power of a senate, to be a check to the people's extravagancies. What of these shall be determined, we expect to hear. Some think that difference in the parliament not like to be agreed. Prevalence of the Quakers and Fifth-monarchy men so far, that they have obtained James Naylor, that monstrous blasphemer, out of prison; and have moved some wise Presbyterians, Independents, and more sober Anabaptists, to syncretism against their





danger, will force the army once more to raise the parliament, and supplicate Lambert, a very wise, stout, active, sober gentleman, to take the government upon him: but what the end of all will be, we refer it to God.

Scotland's condition for the time is not good: exhausted in money; dead in trade; the taxes near doubled; since the 6th of May without all law, nor appearance of any in haste. My Lord Wariston was called to the House of Peers by the last Protector. When the parliament was dissolved, his old friend Sir Henry Vane got him in the council of state, and the most ordinary chairman thereof. All the weight of Scots affairs lies on him alone. Argyll, although he went thither a commissioner from Aberdeenshire, and sat in the House of Commons, complying with the Protector so long as he stood, and with the new parliament so much as any desired; yet was misregarded, and, for fear of arrestment for debt, slipped away home with small credit or contentment. The rest of the Scots commissioners, Swinton, Gariland, Major Barclay, Earl of Linlithgow, Earl of Tweeddale, &c. comply as they pleased, signified little thing; but Wariston was all. He was made to believe, that our union would be a short business; and that it was better to want law than to have it before the union: but that conceit has made us to want the summer session, and may be the winter also; for the debates of the union grew so long, that they say it is laid aside till they have once agreed on the government of England, to which we are to be united. No man pays any debt but of his own accord. That which much retarded our union, was a petition from many hands in our country, put on by Gariland, young Dundas, our Quakers, and many others, for a full toleration to be inserted in the act of our union. This was so well backed by some of the officers of the army, that till it be satisfied nothing can be got done, though Wariston do his uttermost against it.

Upon suspicion that some in Scotland might be on the English plot, the General called all who had been in arms, and were under bonds, to take a new oath, of renouncing the Stuarts, and adhering to the present government. Who refused, were laid up in prisons; Montrose, Callender, Lorn, Selkirk, Kenmore, Didup, Loudon, David Lelly, Sir James Lumfden, and others. Some took it, as Glencairn, and, as they say, Rethes, Montgomery, &c.



&c. But it is thought there was no Scots flesh on this design, whether because not trusted, or not desired by the English, who would do it all their alone, is not known; but, however, it is thought none of our nation were upon it. What was talked of Kinnoul and General-Major Montgomery landing in our highlands, was found a mere fable. Our people are so ill bit, and so exceedingly low, that though there were no garrisons to hold them down, they have neither mind nor ability to make any noise.

Our church lies as it was, full of grief for inward divisions, and outward hazards. As yet the English trouble us not: and truly they have no cause; for whatever be our thoughts, yet in all expressions we are as quiet and peaceable as they could wish. Being afraid for Wariston's incessant designs, the brethren of Edinburgh moved Mr Sharp to go up again to attend his motions. The Protector Richard took very well with him, and sundry members of parliament; but when these were put down, Wariston deferred him to the council, as corresponding with Massey and Titus. Being upon this called to the council, Sir Henry Vane and Mr Scot were sent out to confer with him; to whom he gave abundant satisfaction; and a little after was sent home in peace.

Our town has been in more peace than formerly. Mr Gillespie's four months absence, want of publick judicatories has helped to it; but no good-will in some is lacking to keep in the fire. The last trick they have fallen on to usurp the magistracy, is, by the diligence of their sessions to make factions in every craft, to get the deacons and deacon-conveener created of their side: and herein they have much prevailed; but with such strife as sometimes it has come to strokes. But this Lent way does not satisfy. It is feared, by Wariston's diligence, some orders shall be procured by Mr Gillespie, to have all the magistrates and council chosen as he will. These in place have guided the town so moderately and wisely, that none are expected to do it better: notwithstanding of their huge charge to defend themselves against Mr Gillespie's plots, they have still kept the town free of all taxes, when all our other boroughs are wracked with them. They have built a fair meal-market, which has been near 3000 marks; a fair bridge at Colin's port, which will be above 1000 marks; a very fair merchant-hospital near the bridge, which will be a great sum, and is most done by contribution.



—My Lord Belhaven, without any example I ever heard of in Scotland, with his lady a very witty woman's advice, feigned death, and for seven years was taken by all for dead, yet now appears again safe and sound in his own house. He was much engaged for Duke Hamilton: fearing the creditors might fall on his person and estate, and knowing, if he were reputed dead, his wife, by conjunct fee, and other wife, would keep his estate, he went, with his brother and two servants, towards England. These returned, affirming, that in Solway fands my Lord was carried down by the river, and they could not rescue him. His horse and hat they got, but when all search was made, his body could not be found. His lady and friends make great dool for him, and none controverts his death. In the mean time he goes beyond London, and farms a piece of ground, and lives very privately there. He had but one boy, a very hopeful youth and pretty scholar; he is struck with a fever, as his mother said, but as others, with a fall from his horse, whereof in a few days he dies. In this real death, by God's hand, who will not be mocked, the hope of that house perished. So soon as the Duke's debts were satisfied by selling his own lands, the secret journeys of my Lord to his own house were spied, and so much talked of, that he now at last appears in publick, for his great disrepute; and though he disposes of his estate to his good-son Silverton after his death, yet many think both their estates will go.

Thus far I had written with my former long letter much of a year ago; but it lay beside me, that I might see some settling of these extraordinary and happy changes, which the hand of God, above all human hope or reason, has wrought its alone. After Sir George Booth's defeat, all did almost despair of human help from our evils. I hear sweet Balcarras at the Hague died of grief for that calamity. His body his lady brought home, and caused bury honourably at his parish-church. Without doubt that was one of the most brave and able gentlemen of our nation, if not the most able.

It was the parliament's work, especially Vane, Hasting, and Scot, to search out all the accomplices of Sir George Booth; and doubtless, if God had not, in answer to the prayers of the choice ministers and people of Lancashire, given them somewhat else to do, they had made much execution of many good and honest men. But behold,



hold, while they are running to suck all this blood and spoil, the Lord casts another bone in their teeth. The officers who had defeated Sir George, lifted up with that deservng, expected from the parliament all they could desire. With this confidence they approach the city. Many of them subscribe a petition, to get all the general officers established; and when this did not relish well in the house, (for Haslerig and Vane were very jealous of Lambert), they press it harder: whereupon the house, trusting to the late oaths of obedience from all the officers, makes bold to cashier Lambert, Athfield, Cobbet, and divers others. Upon this affront, the officers went to the house, and with threats dissolved them. In this new confusion, all was put to a stand, not knowing what to do. A judicial blindness fell among them. All were malecontent, and raised in mind, to expect and desire a change; but none durst venture on any more action.

Our noblemen, very secretly, most by the mediation of my Lady Wenys, a witty active woman, whose daughter Buccleugh was in Monk's custody at Dalkeith, did oft solicit him to attempt for the King; but doubts and fears still kept him off: yet when Haslerig and others had importuned him from England to assist the parliament against the violence of Lambert and his party, he called the most of the army to draw near to Edinburgh. He sent for commissioners from every one of our shires, and desired them to advance six months maintenance. Though this in our deep poverty was to us almost unfeasible, yet on good hopes it was chearfully and quickly done. He had of his own above L. 50,000 Sterling, which helped him to give good satisfaction to his soldiers, while the army in England was put to live on free quarters, all the shires refusing to pay any more money till a free parliament did command it. There went a strong remonstrance amongst the most of the shires, against an arbitrary sword-government, and all taxes till a free parliament; but to sugar it, there were two clauses put in, one against the Stuarts and all monarchy, another for full liberty of conscience to all sectaries. This encouraged Monk to declare to the officers of the army at London his desires of a free parliament. This did much startle them; and when many papers passed among them, and Monk continued resolute to march into England for that end, Fleetwood sent down to him M. Caryl, Col. Whally, Goff, and his brother-in-law Dr Clarges. These wrought him  
to





to a treaty, for which he sent three of his officers to London, Cloberry, Wilkes, and Knight. These were so laboured on by their friends, that they made an accord, and subscribed it. But Monk being more and more encouraged both from Scotland and England, and having purged his army from Cobbet, Young, Sorrie, Holms, and many Anabaptists, filling their places with a number of Scottish old soldiers, he refused that accord, as done contrary to his instructions. Finding him grow in strength and resolution, they sent to the north Lambert with 5000 of their best horse, and some 3000 or 4000 foot, with which he came to Newcastle on free quarter. Monk came to Berwick in the midst of December, and lay on the fields in a very cold winter near Coldstream, with 6000 or 7000 good foot, and within 2000 horse. Many of our noblemen came to him at Berwick, and offered to raise quickly for his service all the power of Scotland; but the most of his officers refused it, fearing the stumbling of their army and friends in England; for as yet all of them, in their right-well penned papers, did declare as positively as ever, with divine attestations, against all kings and monarchy, and for a free parliament, and all former principles. Lambert was the far strongest, and easily might have cut in pieces all Monk's party, and made havock in our poor land, as they say it was their purpose, designing the chief of the nobles and ministers for the scaffold, and many ministers for Jamaica, whereof I heard myself was one; but blessed be the Lord who kept us from their bloody teeth. Monk resolved to keep his ground at Coldstream, and if he was beat, to retire to Stirling, and take our help. Our nobles, by his allowance, but without all engagement, sent Major Buntin to Breda, where the King was, with his sister, in a very hard condition. He had gone to Bayonne, conferred with the Cardinal and Du Haro, to get his interest considered in the treaty. He got from both courteous words; but, in effect, was by both neglected. Coming back with a perplexed heart, with his brother York, through France and Flanders, to his sister at Breda, scarce tolerated by the States-General's connivance, to abide in the Prince of Orange's bounds, he is much refreshed by what he heard from Scotland. About the same time Broghill and Sir Charles Cutts send Sir Arthur Forbes to him from Ireland, and some from England make him hopeful of Lambert.



Lambert. This puts him to an uncertainty to what party first he should apply himself. Hyde inclined most to Lambert. Lauderdale's letters, and those from Scotland, advised to trust Monk or Scotland. However, Ormond inclined to accept the Irish offers. All the messengers he dismissed kindly, with good answers. But in the meantime Col. Wotham invited Haflerig, and some of the militia of the late parliament, to Portsmouth, where he commanded. Here, incontinent, forces are gathered, some 4000 or 5000 men, who march directly to London. The people favoured them rather than their opposites. But Fleetwood with his forces in the city, and Desborough with his cannon from the tower, held the city at under. Yet so soon as Haflerig came near with his forces, reported to be far above the truth, both Fleetwood and Desborough retired, and Haflerig entered; who incontinent sat down in the last parliament, sent letters to Monk to haste up, and emitted an act of indemnity to all who submitted. Lambert was not any longer able to keep his people in order, so retired speedily towards London, and, with Fleetwood and the rest, accepted the act of indemnity, and retired to their houses.

On the 1st of January 1660, Monk marched orderly, and at leisure, to London. Where-ever he came, he was received as an angel; bells and bonfires welcomed him. All declared their earnest desire of a free parliament, and gave him great encouragement to procure it. He was civil to all, but reserved himself to see farther. Mr Douglas and Mr Sharp had been free with him in Scotland. On his letter, Mr Sharp followed him, and overtook him. So soon as he reached London, he was to him the most wise, faithful, and happy counsellor he had; and if it had not been for God's assistance to Mr Sharp, Monk was divers times on the point of being circumvented, or of himself to have yielded to destructive counsels. The parliament sent two, and the city three, to meet him at Nottingham with many fair words, and great honour; but joined three with him in commission to curb his power. They had put Vane, Whitlock, and others, out of the House; they were secure of Fleetwood, Lambert, and the rest of the army: their only fear was of Monk. They desired he should not bring his army to London: he quartered about it; but himself came to London, and got many good words, and gave as many orders, shires petitioned



tioned for a new free parliament. Several of the petitioners were laid up for this. Monk at all this was silent and ambiguous. There had sat long in the city, very secretly, a committee of two from every shire, and four of the city, advising how to cast off the yoke of slavery. When they found the rump of the long parliament, also the petition of 250 members, unjustly by Cromwell cast out, to be readmitted; and all that could be obtained from Haslerig, who then ruled all, was to supply the House against such a day with members of many qualifications, which they made, and whereof they would be judges, chiefly that all should swear against the Stuarts, and all government by one. The people, almost desperate, met in common council, and voted no more addressies, nor more payment, till a new free parliament did sit. Herewith the House is enraged, and vote the uncitizing of London, a casting down of all their gates, posts, and chains; for walls they had none since Cromwell pulled down their lines of communication. The common council was abolished, and a new one appointed to be chosen. Monk was commanded to see these votes executed, and so become most odious to the people, that the more easily they might destroy both. Monk was in a very hard taking, yet obeyed; and the people permitted him patiently to do all he pleased. The gates and posts are pulled down, the common council is changed; but behold a present change. The fool Haslerig had wiped the city and Monk's nose to the blood. Monk, by conference with the secluded members, Presbyterian ministers, and chief citizens, is encouraged to write a sharp letter to the parliament, of his resentment of their severity to the city, and dallying with Fleetwood, Lambert, Vane, Ludlow, and others, though declared against; farther, of his own engagement to the city, that within five days they should issue letters for calling a new free parliament against the 25th of April.

In the mean time, Haslerig, Scot, and others, sent many messages to him; and near had gained him to come out of the city, and lie at Whitehall. But Mr Sharp's night-labours here were happy. On the 20th of February, Monk went to the House, and sat down the secluded members. At this the city and country's joy was inexpressible; bells and bonfires every where; Monk made Captain-General of all forces by sea and land of the three kingdoms, and General-Major of the city-militia; Hasle-



rig, Secretary Scot, and others of the rump, sneaked away to the country; Lambert and Overton were put in the Tower; a council of state of thirty-two, Lewis, Hollis, Crew, Knighton, Pierpoint, and such; the covenant appointed to be hung up in the House, also in every church, and to be read once solemnly every year; Sir George Booth and all his party were let free; also Lauderdale, Crawford, and all of ours, were freed of their long prisons. Commissioners from our shires, Glencairn, Durie, Carden, William Thompson, with Monk's good allowance, came to London. Frequent private messengers went to the King. He, from Breda, sent over Sir John Greenville and Dr Morley, with a very gracious message to both Houses, to the City, and to the General, which satisfied all. An order of parliament was given to proclaim the King May 8. which was done over all England most solemnly. A committee of six Lords, twelve Commons, three Aldermen, nine Common-Counsellors, with sundry city-ministers, Calamy, Manton, Reynolds, &c. sent to Breda to haste the King home; 50,000 pounds Sterling sent him in money, 10,000 in gold; to his brother, York, 10,000 in money, one in gold; to Gloucester five in money, one in gold. Landing at Dover, he stayed Sunday in Canterbury, Monday in Rochester; Tuesday, May 29. his birth-day, came to the city, with the most solemn shew and heartiest joy, that, I think, was ever in England. At Whitehall, Manchester and Grimeston, the Speakers of the two Houses did welcome him in more cordial than eloquent speeches. He had from Breda given full security, on his word, to men of all professions, to live in peace; for satisfaction to the soldiers of their arrears; for keeping them in possession of the crown and church lands till they were satisfied; for pardoning of all bygones, except a few, whom the parliament might except, for their eminent hand in his father's murder. The first morning he came to Whitehall, he issued a proclamation against profanity, swearing, and healths. Thanksgiving to God for this his own work, with bells and bonfires, went quickly through all the three kingdoms. Monk was made Baron, Earl, and Duke of Albemarle, Master of the Horse, one of the Privy Council, General of all the forces under the King; Ormond, Steward of the House; Manchester, Chamberlain; Lauderdale, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber; Hyde, Chancellor; Nicholas and Culpepper, Secretaries.





taries; Reynolds, Calamy, Manton, Baxter, chaplains; the country-militia put in hands confident; the King, Duke of York, Ormond, the most of the courtiers, made Colonels of the standing regiments, the Colonels willingly ceding to be Lieutenants. But quickly the parliament fell on a better way, with all possible speed to disband all forces by sea and land. For this end, beside the maintenance and excise, a poll-money was appointed to defray arrears; great sums came in, and a cheerful enough disbanding was made; so that before this, except a few garrisons, and a very few horse and foot, are all peaceably disbanded in the three kingdoms: a mighty unexpected work.

The King, in wisdom, moderation, piety, and grave carriage, giving huge satisfaction to all; the parliament restored him the power of the militia, his negative voice, the determination of all ecclesiastick differences, and whatever he could have wished; took a course for buying back his revenues, and much augmented them. He endeavoured carefully to relieve all that had been sufferers for him or his father. He pressed the Houses to haste the bill of indemnity. They excepted a very few from it; scarce a dozen executed: in which the people had much more satisfaction than he; for he would have been induced to have pardoned all; but it was the justice of God that brought Peters, Harrison, and others, to a shameful death; to hang up the bones of Oliver, Bradshaw, Ireton, Pride, on the gibbet at Tyburn; to disgrace the two Goodwins, blind Milton, Owen, Sterry, Lockiers, and others of that maleficent crew.

The most of our nobles, with very many of our gentry, run up to Whitehall. All were made welcome. Old places were restored to Crawford, Castils, and others. No wonder the Chancellor and Secretary's places were taken from Loudon and Lothian, and given to Glencairn and Lauderdale; yet with recompence enough to them both, whom some thought deserved little. Loudon had his pension of £. 1000, and gift of annuities continued. Lothian got his second son director of the chancery, which Sir John Scot was thought not to deserve. Montrose's Marquisate was confirmed; the customs of Glasgow given to him till he was paid of a great sum; Argyle is ordained to refund him a great sum. Selkirk made Duke Hamilton, and out of the customs of Leith £. 20,000 Sterling assigned. Marshal got £. 10,000 Sterling out of the customs of Aberdeen.



Aberdeen. Didup, Earl of Dundee, a sum out of the customs of Dundee. The King gave among them all he had in Scotland, and much more. For judicatories, he appointed the committees of estates of the year 1650 to sit down, and the parliament December 12. For a Commissioner, by our nobles consent, left strife should be for it, the Lord Middleton, Earl of Fettercairn, was nominated; who was not very acceptable to many; especially not keeping the day of the parliament, but causing it to be adjourned to January: yet when he is come down, his wisdom, sobriety, and moderation, has been such, as makes him better beloved and reputed for that great charge, as fit as any other we could have got. So far it went every where, to the great joy of all.

But as nothing is perfectly blessed on earth, some water was quickly poured in the wine of many; I am sure in mine, as I expressed it in a sharp and free letter to Lauderdale. Bishops and liturgies were every where set up in England and Ireland without contradiction; our league and covenant, by a number of printed pamphlets, was torn to pieces. This was the more grievous, that at the beginning it appeared most easy to have been remedied. His gracious Majesty was ready to have been advised by his parliament; the leading men there were avowed covenanters and Presbyterians; Lauderdale and Mr Sharp, both at Breda and London, had very much of the King's ear; Monk was for us in that at the beginning firm enough; the Queen and her party was on our side; the Episcopal men were sundry of them as evil as before; Bramhill, Wren, Heylin, Thorndyke, Codrings, Sydeserf, Hammond, Pierce, none of the best or most orthodox; Juxon and Duppa smallily learned; Sheldon, Morley, able indeed, and very wise men; but the overturning of all the reformation of England, without a contrary petition, to me was strange, and very grievous, and I suspect we know not yet the bottom of that mystery. I with all our friends, Scots and English, have been honest and faithful. Sure they have not been so prudent and industrious as, I think, they should have been. However, as this was the original of all our late troubles, I think it will not fail in time to procure new commotions, if petitions and remonstrances do not prevent them.

It is like the general joy for the King's happy return, and the general abhorrence of our late confusions and mi-



series, together with fear lest any jussling, even by petitions, might give occasion to these who were watching for it to make some new commotions, made our friends easy to be prevailed with not to oppose the King's desires; especially the King promising, by conference with the chief Presbyterians and Episcopals, to do his endeavours for their agreement; as indeed he laboured much in this, and, by his declaration, drew both some nearer than they were; but for little satisfaction of either of the parties: the Episcopals, not having all they were wont, were discontent: the Presbyterians found the other had got too much, and more than in conscience they could ever assent to; yet, for love to the King, they were silent, when all the bishops were solemnly installed, and the liturgy every where restored, clean contrary to our covenant, and acts of the English parliament since 1641. Chancellor Hyde was thought the great actor in this Episcopal business, while a few hours treaty, or but a petition from the Houses, General, and city, sent with the commissioners to Breda, might easily have freed us, for the great good of them, and of all their vexations.

It was a huge grief also to us, and more to the King, that the Lord was pleased to remove that most excellent, and exceeding hopeful Prince, the Duke of Gloucester, in a few day's sickness, of the measles or small pox; and what came on the back of it, the noise of the Duke of York's clandestine marriage with the Chancellor's daughter, was to the King and his loving people a very great grief; especially that third heaviest stroke following, the death of that most excellent Princess, and exceedingly beloved both of the King and all his subjects. I wish what some speak of her clandestine marriage with Harry Jermyn's brother's son may be found to be a false lie. However, these most sad accidents did temper our exceeding great and just joy. Also there were some fears of the sectarian party's plots; but, blessed be God, they are come to nought. That bloody mad spirit of Munster lodges in many of them. The Chancellor's speech closing the parliament, shews their design, on the 25th of December, to have fired the city, seized on Whitehall, the King, York, Albemarle, and others. Overton, Ludlow, Whyte, and many, are taken for this: yet many did not believe it. But something of it did actually appear since; for while the King is conveying his mother to Portsmouth, some of these



these fanaticks did rise two divers times in the night; but were easily, by the mayor of the city alone, suppressed, without any considerable bloodshed, blessed be God; for sure it is, that party is yet too strong, but likely their own madness will shortly annihilate them.

The Bishop of London baptized Charles the Duke of Cambridge at Worcester house; the Lady Ormond was godmother. The Queen entertained that night the Duchess of York at her table, and to-morrow the King entertained her and her husband, his brother, at his table. The Queen went immediately with her daughter towards France, to agent her marriage with Monsieur Duke of Anjou; albeit some think discontent at her son's marriage did further her journey.

For us in Scotland, thus things have went among us. After Monk's march, some sticking there was in the west to have had meetings in shires for new commissioners. They liked not Glencairn's employment. They spake of Lauderdale and Crawford; but their design was, Lockhart and the remonstrator's interest. My Lord Lee, Sir John Cheesly, Sir George Maxwell, my Lord Stair, Mr Gillespie, and others, were said to be the contrivers. They laboured to have had Selkirk and Cassils with them; but this was soon crushed by Monk and Morgan; for they were informed of their inclination to Lambert more than to them. When the committee of our estates, to our great joy, had sat down in our parliament-house to prepare matters for our parliament, Mr James Guthrie having met before at Edinburgh, and elsewhere, with divers of his party, did tryft it so, as he and they met in Robert Simpson's house, the next door almost to the meeting of estates, and did draw up a petition to the King, making many professions of their joy for his return, but withal remembering him of his covenant to suppress bishops and ceremonies in England, and to beware to put the government of Scotland into the hands of malignants. They also write letters to Mr P. Gillespie, and the chief of their party in the west, to meet them at Glasgow the next week, with so many as they could bring with them. The committee hearing of this, immediately sent some of their number to them, seized on their papers, brought them before their court. They were sorry, at their first downfitting, to have to do with ministers; but Mr Guthrie's restlessness and proud insolence, irritated, especially when all their





their number; Mess. Robert Traill, Jo. Stirling, Alexander Moncrieff, John Semple, John Murray, Gilbert Hall, and sundry others, absolutely refused to acknowledge any fault. Surely they had no warrant to meet, being no kirk-judicatory, and their ill band of remonstrance could give them no privilege in a body to admonish the King, how to govern England, and tax him for making malignants members of judicatories. Upon their obstinacy, all were sent to the castle at once. Mr Thomas Ramsay went stark mad. He was always but a weak foolish thing. Sundry of them fell sick, and were sent to their own houses, as at last all were sent to their lodgings in Edinburgh. Mr James Guthrie was confined to the tolbooth of Dundee, and Mr Gillespie to the castle of Stirling; Mr James Simpson to the tolbooth of Edinburgh; as also Mr John Dickson, minister of Rutherglen, for many odious speeches in pulpit against the statemen. Mr James Naclmith also, for speeches in pulpit, was confined to his chamber in Edinburgh. But, above all, Mr Rutherford was disgraced; his book, *Lex Rex*, burnt by the hand of the hangman at the cross of Edinburgh and St Andrew's; himself confined to his chamber, his stipend sequestrated, and himself cited before the parliament. Mr Andrew Cant preaching against Mr Rutherford's hard usage, was accused before the magistrates of treason. He demitted his ministry, and came to his son at Liberton, where both live very quietly. The Commissioner used the old man very courteously, and likely will protect him from trouble. Sir James Stewart and Sir John Cheefly were sent prisoners to the castle, where yet they abide. Wariston fled; whereupon he was declared fugitive, and all his places void. His poor lady could not obtain to him a pass from the King to live in banishment; so he lurks daily in fear of his life. Argyle, by his son Lorn's letter, being advertised that the King took kindly with all men, ventured to go to London: but in the chamber of presence, before he saw the King, a warrant under the King's hand meets him to be carried to the Tower close prisoner: yet when his Lady came up, she got free access to him; but could not obtain to him a hearing before the King. Swinton, who, either by a strong hypocrisy or temptation, had turned Quaker, was taken at London, and sent to Newgate. Argyle and he were sent to the parliament by sea in one ship, by a great guard of citizens. Both were carried on foot, and Swinton



Swinton discovered, through all the streets of Edinburgh, Argyle to the castle, and Swinton to the tolbooth, close prisoners. Capt. Govan was cast in the tolbooth for a long time in irons; Jaffray of Aberdeen, Osborn the Quaker, were likewise put in the tolbooth; the chief of the remonstrants were cited, and were made to subscribe their renouncing the remonstrance, and appearing before the parliament, and something else whereat they stumbled at the beginning; but at once Greenhead, Sir George Maxwell, Mr John Harper, and others, subscribed all. Our folks, Mr John Graham, Mr John Spreul, lay long in the tolbooth of Edinburgh for refusing; but at last they, John Johnston, and Thomas Paterlon, subscribed it. James Porter, our Catholick clerk, was confined to his house, and referred to our magistrates, to be disposed on as they pleased. That whole party was clear run down, to the contentment of the most; for they have been ill instruments of irreconcilable division for twelve years, both in kirk and kingdom. For myself, I rejoiced not at the hurt of any of them; but wished all of them might have been spared, on their good behaviour in time to come, which now is like will be easily obtained, though before it was desperate. The pity and favour of many is turning towards them, by the insolent behaviour of some, who are suspected may make a new party among us. Our state is very averse to hear of our league and covenant. Many of our people are hankering after bishops, having forgot the evil they have done, and the nature of their office. An exceeding great profanity, and contempt both of the ministry and religion itself, is every where prevalent. A young fry of ministers in Lothian, Fife, and elsewhere, look as if they intended some change, without any fear or reverence to the older ministers, who lately put them in their places. The wisest and best are yet quiet till they see whither these things will go.

The goodness of the King himself is the only hope we have to get any thing to go right. For our private matters in the college, this twelvemonth we have been at peace, our unrest [Mr P. Gillespie] being quieted. He sent his wife to London, to offer all service to the King, as Sinclair said to Glencairn, and he to Mr Sharp, who wrote it to Mr Douglas: he offered to do his endeavours for Episcopacy, though this he denies. However, he got no access nor countenance, only occasioned the King to remember me, and



and name me to his place. Lauderdale wrote to me, that it stuck only at a form of presentation, which he desired Mr James Sharp, when he came home, to send up to him. The interveening of other things makes it stick yet there; for myself, I never moved in it, directly nor indirectly, nor purpose to do. Ten years ago I might have had it with the liking of all who had interest; but I settled it upon good Mr Robert Ramfay, by an act of the general assembly. Since his death, Mr Gillespie intruded himself by the English power. At his coming we were large L. 1000 Sterling to the fore; this day we will be as much in debt, and a number of confused businesses in our hands, which few who know will be very willing to undertake: yet, on the report of my refusal, sundry are busy seeking it by their friends, far and near. Many of my friends deal with me to take it. I have promised, when the presentation comes, to advise before I can either accept or refuse.

I have now my piece ready for the press. Because it is in Latin, and long, I will not get it printed here. I debate sundry questions, modestly, but roundly, with Dr Walton, and sundry of the chief Episcopal men; so I despair to get it printed at London. Most of my matter is new and pleasant. I have sent you the *summa*, to be communicated to whom you will. I hope you may get it printed there freely. If you advise, I shall send the book with the next. Keep these sheets clean; for they must be put in the book, either in the beginning or end.—Ragotz's calamity has grieved us sore. That gallant brave prince should not have been left to the Turkish fury. I fear his states shall turn Turkish or Austrian. Still we marvel what Mazarine can mean by his Spanish peace, when West Flanders, Catalonia, and Milan, were likelier to have been conquered by the French than these many years. Conde is brought home to France. Portugal is totally deserted. What can the end of this be? The people are nothing eased of their taxes; the clergy complain as much of their oppression. The Prince of Orange, too well deserving of the house of France, spoiled in his minority, by treachery, of his patrimony. The Venetians not assisted either by France or Spain with any considerable help more in their peace than war; but the Venetians put in a worse case after their help than before. However, guide as they will, blessed be God for the peace

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of the churches abroad, and the happy restoration of our King, when all the world absolutely, and at home also, well near had deserted him. At last I break off.

Your Cousin,

ROBERT BAILLIE,

January 31. 1661.

200. For Mr Spang.

Cousin,

I hope ere now you have received my book, and that ere long I shall have your sense of the printing of it. Since my last long letter, thus our affairs went, so far as I understand and remember. The Commissioner was met at Musselburgh with 1000 horse. The parliament sat down at the beginning of January on the Tuesday. It rode in a very magnificent way: few of the nobles were absent. The Chancellor had so guided it, that the shires and boroughs should chuse none but these that were absolutely for the King. Divers were cited to the parliament, that they might not be members. The parliament's pulse was quickly felt: for when Cassils moved, that the election of a President should be by vote of parliament, the Commissioner obtained, that the Chancellor should preside by virtue of his office, as before it wont to be. The oath of allegiance was appointed next to be taken by all the members. There was inserted in the midst of it, the main clause of the oath of supremacy: "That the King was supreme governor over all persons in all causes." About this fundry did scruple; yet when the Commissioner and Chancellor declared, that they intended thereby no ecclesiastick power to the King in word, sacraments, or discipline, but a supreme civil power to put churchmen in all things to their duty; all were satisfied, and took it in that sense: only Cassils and Kilburnie refused, because they could not obtain that sense to be expressed in writ. Therefore it was appointed, that all members of parliament, all officers of state, lords of session, and others in shires and boroughs should take it. The ministers of Edinburgh desired a word to be added, which would have satisfied all, "*Civil supreme governor*;" and without that word *Civil* they seemed peremptor to refuse it. At this I was very sorry: for I feared it should occasion trouble, and a





new schifin, without great cause, as I wrote to them when the act of parliament came out, of putting all intrants in the ministry to it; and, as I hear, they will put all masters of colleges to it. For myself, I took the oath of allegiance and supremacy thirty-four years ago, when I entered regent, and yet never scrupled it. My Lord Cassils, without doubt the truly best man of our nobility, and as loyal as any, for this scruple is as good as removed from parliament: and though he be since at London, and has favour and countenance enough of the King, as well he deserves; yet it is like to put him from the exercise of all his places, of Justice-General, Lord of Council, Session, and Exchequer. The shire of Ayr had elected Sir James Dalrymple of Stair with the laird of Blair, the Chancellor's brother-in-law; but their scrupulosity being feared, a new election was made of Kilburnie and Hastehead. Kilburnie following Cassils's vote, appeared no more in parliament.

Their next work was about the prerogative. With very little or no difficulty, all was given to the King he desired; sole power of peace and war; of militia by sea and land; of calling and raising of parliaments, and all things else was in question, which lately were called the liberties of the nation, and privileges of parliament. At first it was only spoken to annul the parliament 1649, which had annulled that of 1648, and had sent for the King on an unreasonable treaty. This passed easily. But at once the design appeared of annulling all the former parliaments since 1633, which had given any civil sanction to the general assembly of Glasgow 1638, or any after assembly, which ratified our solemn league and covenant or church-government, and all we had been doing these years bygone. This caused a great noise and grief over the whole land; so that for a while the motion was retired, and all such intention denied: but when things were better prepared, it was openly pressed, and carried, scarce forty appearing in the contrary. While the presbytery of Edinburgh, synods of Lothian, Fife, Glasgow, and others, were preparing petitions against this, they were fore threatened, and that of Fife raised by Rothes, that of Lothian by Callender, Dumfries by Annandale, &c. When, by our own privy ways, we had got the King informed of all this, we were once in good hopes of a remedy; but yet that appears not. Lauderdale, in whom  
we



we trusted, being overpowered and diverted by the greater court of Chancellor Hyde, and the great zeal that sundry here have to his service. However, we are filled with grief and fear of troubling both the inward and outward peace of our church. His Majesty's letter to the presbytery of Edinburgh, confirmed our hopes that no change should be made in our church; but seeing what is past since, we know not now what to say, who desire most gladly to get any true ground of apologising for all the King and state's actions. Some speak of a dangerous improvidence in these acts, as if all possibility of any solid agreement betwixt the King and his subjects were thereby taken away, if any discord, which God forbid, should ever again fall out: for what security is left to the King to give to his people, when treaties confirmed by King and parliament, in all due forms, are not binding, but so easily reversed on the alledgences of fears, temptations, inconveniencies, and the like, which will never be wanting?

The most of the parliament's work was on delinquents processes. The great one was Argyle. Many hearings had he on his long libel. His defences were very pregnant. The Advocate was sometimes uncivilly tart to him; the Commissioner also sharp enough. Sir John Gilmour in many things reasoned for him. There was no lack of full hearing, and debates to the uttermost. His act of indemnity kept him from all that was libelled before the year 1651; all the odious clamours of his cruelty against the Lamonds, Macdonalds, and others, were cut off; albeit in all these he gave fair answers. Much of that guilt lay on his depute George Campbell, and on his friends Ardkinglass, Macconochie, and others. These appeared not when cited, and therefore were forefaulted. George appeared, and was made close prisoner: yet a pardon came from the King to him, procured, as was thought, by his purse; for many are poor, and he was very rich. His master's chief indictment was, compliance with the English, his sitting in the parliament at London, his assisting Monk against Glencairn and Middleton on the hills.

When his libelled crimes appeared not unpardonable, and his son Lord Neil went up to see his brother Lorn at London, and spake somewhat liberally of his father's satisfactory answers, Monk was moved to send down four



or five of his letters to himself and others, proving his full compliance with them; that the King should not reprove him. The Chancellor and Rothes went to court to shew the hazard of his escape. The man was very wise, and unquestionably the greatest subject the King had, sometime much known and beloved in all the three kingdoms; it was not thought safe he should live. The condemnatory sentence he took well; slipped the night after cheerfully; parted with his gracious lady that Saturday at night Christianly. Mr Douglas and Mr Hutcheson preached to him in the tolbooth on the Sunday. Mr Dickson prayed with him all Sunday night, except a little time of his sleep. On the Monday he breakfasted and dined; about two o'clock he went through the streets, with his hat on, with his friends; very cheerfully mounted the scaffold at the cross; spoke well at the corners of the scaffold; prayed twice. Mr Hamilton and Mr Hutcheson waited on him. He blessed the King and his family; attested God of his freedom from all designs against the King or his father; gave some pieces to the executioner; laid down his head on the block very courageously; at the stretching out of his hand, the sign agreed on, the maiden quickly struck off his head. However he had been much hated by the people, yet in death he was much regretted by many, and by none insulted over. His friends, in the night, in Marischall's six-horse coach, carried him through Falkirk and Glasgow, and thence to Kilpatrick, where they put him in a boat for Duncoon, and buried him with his fathers in the kirk of Kilmun. His head was set up on the west end of the tolbooth, where Montrose's head had stood. At the beginning of the parliament, Montrose's head and body, buried in the borough muir, was appointed to be carried honourably to the Abbey church; whence, on the King's charges, he was carried to St Giles's to be entombed there, with a greater solemnity than any of our Kings ever had at their burial in Scotland. His son is a good modest gentleman, has given no offence to any, neither at London nor in the parliament. The King's liberality, with his lady's portion and virtue, are like to put him in a better condition than was any of his predecessors.

Argyle long to me was the best and most excellent man our state of a long time had enjoyed; but his compliance with the English and remonstrants, took my heart off him these eight years; yet I mourned for his death, and still  
 pray



pray to God for his family. His two sons are good youths and were ever loyal. The ruin of the family may prove hurtful to the King and kingdom. Without the King's favour debt will undo it. When Huntly's lands are rendered, and Montrose paid near 100,000 pound, his old debts of 400,000 or 500,000 merks will not be got paid. Many wonder of his debt, and think he must have money, for he got much, and was always sober and sparing. My good-son, Mr Robert Watton, was with his lady in Rosneath the night the King landed in England. He told me, all the dogs that day did take a strange howling and staring up to my Lady's chamber-windows for some hours together. Mr Alexander Colvill, justice-depute, an old servant of the house, told me, that my Lady Kenmore, a gracious lady, my Lord's sister, from some little skill of physiognomy, which Mr Alexander had taught her, had told him some years ago, that her brother would die in blood.

After Argyle's process, these of the ministers took up most of the parliament's time. Mr James Guthrie's libel was tartly drawn, and wittily answered: yet he defended all he had done; justified the matter of the remonstrance, protestation, causes of God's wrath, and fathered all on the discipline of the church and acts of assemblies, even his declination of King and parliament at Perth, when cited for treasonable preaching. After many days hearing, persisting obstinately, he was condemned to be hanged, and his head to be set on the Netherbow. Though few approved of his way, yet many were grieved to see a minister so severely used. Mr Rutherford, had not death prevented, was in the same hazard. Mr Gillespie had gone the same way, had not his friends persuaded him to recant his remonstrance, protestation, compliance with the English, and to petition the King and parliament for mercy. All agreed to supplicate the King for him; and now he has obtained liberty to abide at Ormiston, and six miles about it, to the first of March. Mr James Mac-smith, Mr John Dickson of Rutherglen, Mr John Stirling, and Mr Traill, did follow his way: but Mr R. Mackward, Mr Rutherford's servant at London four years, made minister at Glasgow the way I wrote to you before, in a set sermon of purpose, declared his grief for the parliament's hard usage of the covenant, wherein all honest men did concur with him; but in so high language, as entering





tering a protestation in heaven against the parliament's deed, whereof he took all his hearers for witnesses. Such terms none approved; yet for all that either one or other could say, he obstinately stood to all: which provoked them to pass a sentence of banishment upon him.

All the rest of the imprisoned ministers are set free, some upon one satisfaction, and some upon another. How long their or our liberty shall last, we know not; for the parliament seems to have small regard of any of us. They took a way to nominate to themselves preachers. Mr Douglas, indeed, began; but was no more employed. Mr Dickson, Mr Hamilton, and others of the ministers of Edinburgh, were past by; as all we of the west, except Mr James Hamilton of Cambusnethan, and Mr Hugh Blair: but in all the nooks of Scotland men were picked out who were thought inclinable to change our church-government, and according to our invectives, against what we were lately doing, were printed good or weak divines, at the pleasure of a very rascal Thomas Sydserf, a profane atheistical Papist, as some count him. Mr Blair, Mr Dickson, and Mr Hutcheson, were, without all cause, mischantly abused by his pen, without the resentment of the state, till his Majesty himself commanded to silence him. To myself I found the Commissioner very courteous. With much ado I got myself shifted of preaching. Mr Wood and Mr Colvil did their duty very honestly. Divers of the northern ministers, and some others, played the sycophants; divers are staggering: but what his Majesty was informed, that the most part of the ministry, especially the most grave, wise, and learned, were for Episcopacy, is utterly false; for the most and far best part are lying in the dust before God, for what they see, and for which they fear, the great plague of God, even for the increasing abominations of burgh and land.

Many blame Mr Sharp, as the great court-minister, by whose sole advice the King and statesmen, both Scots and English, are put on, and directed in these meddlings with our church; but I have found him always so kind a friend to myself, that I will be loth to admit such thoughts of him. Indeed the Chancellor and President of the Council, when the parliament sent them to the King for removing the garrisons, took him up with them, as some thought, to be an agent betwixt them and Lauderdale, who was said to be colder in pursuing Chancellor Hyde's designs



designs in Scotland than some others; yet we hear not but Lauderdale and they agree well enough, and that he keeps fully his court.

The parliament laid on no taxation, for the land is exhausted, and very poor; yet they laid on a greater burden than many parliaments before them these many years, L. 40,000 Sterling a-year during the King's life; but to be lifted in a way not very burdensome, a moderate excise on drink alone. When all this also is distributed among well-deserving men, the necessities of many, and greed of fundry, will not be got satisfied.

At the beginning of the parliament there were many brave designs for fishing, and more use of trade; but after some empty talk, all seems to be vanished, the boroughs sticking absolutely to their old job-trot for their own hurt. The charge of the parliament was great. It had sat long for no very pleasant purposes. The most desired it to rise without adjournment, and chose rather to be governed simply by the King's good pleasure, who was an equitable and wise prince. While it was adjourned from July 10. to March 1. it was not very acceptable. They feared the interval was but for the ripening the designs of bringing in books and bishops, either in whole or in part, as preparatory to all was in England; also to fine many for small faults, to supply the wastry of undeserving men. The act of debtor and creditor was very heavy to these that had to do with it. It was a pity, when the King intended nothing but to ease his people, and make the hearts of all that loved him rejoice, it should fall out, through the improvidence, at least, of some, to the contrary. Our good town was particularly grieved, that the nineteenth part of the excise should be laid on them alone, notwithstanding of all their very diligent commissioner, John Bell, could do to the contrary. The town of Edinburgh got a part of their excise to defray their present burdens: but get what they will, it does little good; for their debt, it is above 900,000 merks, though still they be stinting their town for their needless prodigality. They say the dinner they gave to the Commissioner in the College-hall cost them large L. 500 Sterling.

In England and Ireland thus affairs are. After the King had dissolved the parliament at London, December 29. all things being done abundantly to the King's contentment, the day of coronation was appointed to be  
- April



April 28. St George's day. The ceremony was very solemn, as ever any coronation before. Our only grief was, that the bishops, in anointing, crowning, and all, had so deep a hand. It was thought the former parliament, how bountiful to the King soever, had one defect in the legality, that it was not summoned by the King, but called by the former parliament. To remedy this, another was called to meet May 8. Great care was had to get, in all the shires, men committionate according to the heart of the court. The Presbyterians made some sickling for this, but to no purpose; for the Chancellor was so active, as the most affectionate of the old cavalier party were generally chosen. When they met, the Chancellor's speech advertised them to beware of the Presbyterian ministers, as pestiferous incendiaries. This grieved us sore. But when the House of Commons did not only vote the bishops into the House of Lords, but the solemn league and covenant to be burnt by the hand of the hangman, all our hopes were turned into despair.

The parliament of Ireland, which sat down the same 8th of May, was not behind, but put bishops in the House of Lords; yea, chose Bishop Bramhall to be Speaker in the House of Peers, though Mr Davis of Derry was ready to challenge him of many adulteries, and other odious crimes. The persecution of Presbyterian ministers began to be very hot. Almost all of them, both in England and Ireland, were put from their charges. The King, before the parliament, after sundry conferences with the chief of the Episcopal and Presbyterian parties, had emitted a declaration, albeit full enough for books and bishops, yet it had sundry limitations for the ease of the Presbyterians; but all was neglected. The bishops and books were fully established as of old, without *ifs* or *ands*. This causes a very great discontentment in many. What the end will be, the Lord knows; only for the time, thousands, who heartily pray for all good to the King, do cry to Heaven for help against the Episcopal oppressors, who little regard their prayers, knowing that they have neither any will, nor any power, to use any force against them. Pamphlets on both sides flee thick abroad. The King declared to all his three parliaments the unpious advice he had got from all his counsellors, to marry the Infanta of Portugal; and all his parliaments gave their hearty consent to it, though it was visible it brought with it a present war with Spain.



Spain. This was little regarded; especially since Holland adhered to our King, and submitted to him all their differences with Portugal. The great conditions, which yet are secret, and the great hopes of the Princess's readiness to be of the King's religion, make all to like the match well, and to pray for a blessing to it. The parliament at London would gladly have been, as they say, at changing the act of indemnity; but the King's peremptory adhering to it, made them let it alone; only some more executions, and forfaultries of them in the Tower, are expected. It was much, that Sir Henry Mildmay and Robert Wallop escaped, with drawing to Tyburn with ropes about their necks on hurdles. They speak of Sir Henry Vane and Lambert as to be tried for their lives. They are two the most dangerous men in England. Their execution will be well enough taken by all generally; yea, though Solicitor St John's should be added to them. The King desires the parliament to adjourn till winter, that he may go to his progress towards Worcester, the place of his deadly dangers, to visit all who had been there friends to him.

After the adjourning of our parliament, sundry of our nobles posted to court, the Commissioner, Duke Hamilton, Montrose, the Treasurer, Athol, Aboyne, and others. There were there before, the Chancellor, Rothes, Lorn, and more.

It is thought their agreement will be scarce good upon their private interests, and especially about Lorn, whether he shall be restored or not; but I fear they shall agree too well to trouble our poor church. The King's late declaration is no ways satisfactory. It continues our church-discipline only during pleasure, and discharges any preaching, petitioning, or meddling with the church-government. Mr Sharp is the only man with whom the King advises; and many say he is corrupted by Hyde; which I wish be false; otherwise we are in an exceeding hard taking; yet the Lord ever lives.

I have got sundry of yours lately, two yesterday together, May 3. and July 4. for which I thank you. I think before this you have got sundry of mine also. I long to hear if you received my book, and your sense of it. My speech at my entry to my place, you have herewith. If you think fit, I would put it at the end of my book, as a publick testimony of my loyalty, also my prayer and exhortation at the lauration.—Our Queen's





retiring out of England, with her daughter Henrietta, some thought was more on discontent for Chancellor Hyde's too great power, than for any reality of a match with the Duke of Anjou. The match of the Prince of Florence with the second daughter of Orleans, might well have served the eldest. God be thanked your state is in so good terms with all their neighbours. We hope Spain, in his old age, and infancy of his son, will be loth to venture on a war with England.

When the King was going to his progress, and the parliament to adjourn, July 20. they changed, as we hear, their resolution. The parliament sat still. The King gave over his progress for this year. He is not to send for his Queen in haste. What may be the reason of this change, we yet do not know. I am glad to find you continue just in my sense of our publick affairs.

201. For Mr William Spang. Glasgow, May 12. 1662.

Dear Cousin,

My last was by the hand of my lad Harry. I have kept my chamber these six weeks, and yet do keep it, through a rose in my leg; but, blessed be God, I now walk up and down my chamber and yard. The doctor thinks I have a scurvy. I find an universal weakness, especially of my stomach. It were a favour to me to be gone; yet I am willing to abide my appointed time, and take my part with others in these very hard times. It was one of my special desires to have my book printed, which you, of your singular kindness, have procured fully to my mind. I will not be able to return you this special favour. It is in fine paper, a brave letter and volume; I could not have wished it better. Only I would intreat you would hasten it so much as may be, that it be not *opus posthumum*. As you have sent me the first sheets, I with you sent me likewise what since are cast off. The corrector had need, for the credit of the press, to be more careful. In these two sheets you see what gross faults are escaped, which makes solecisms and nonsense. Do your best to help this.

The publick affairs you know them as well and better than I. Our kirk, all the English times, had been very faithful to our King, and so instrumental as we could for his restitution. We had lost much blood at Dunbar,

Worcester,



Worcester, and elsewhere, and at last our liberty, in his cause. We firmly expected, at his restitution, a comfortable subsistence to ourselves, and all our Presbyterian brethren, in all the dominions; and believe the King's intention was no other; but, by divine permission, other counsels thereafter prevailed, and now carry all. When the King was at Breda, it was said he was not averse from establishing Presbytery; nor was the contrary peremptorily resolved till the Saturday at night in the cabinet-council at Canterbury. At the beginning it went on softly. Calamy, Baxter, Manton, Reynolds, were made chaplains. But at once it altered. This came from our supine negligence and inadvertence; for the parliament there, consisting of the secluded members, the city, Monk also, and the army, were for us. Had we but petitioned for Presbytery at Breda, it had been, as was thought, granted; but fearing what the least delay of the King's coming over might have produced, and trusting fully to the King's goodness, we hasted him over, without any provision for our safety. At that time it was, that Dr Sheldon, now Bishop of London, and Dr Morley, did poison Mr Sharp, our agent, whom we trusted; who, piece and piece, in so cunning a way, has trepanned us, as we have never got so much as to petition either King, parliament, or council. My Lord Hyde, the great minister of state, who guided all, and to whom, at his lodging in Worcester-house, the King, weekly, and often, uses to resort and keep counsel with him some hours; and so, with the King, Mr Sharp became more intimate than any man almost of our nation. It seems he has undertaken to do in our church that which now he has performed easily, and is still in acting.

He had for co-operators the Commissioner, Chancellor, and Rother. Lauderdale and Crawford were a while contrary; but seeing the King peremptory, they gave over. His Majesty's letter to us at first, penned by Mr Sharp, promised to keep up our church-government established by law, and to send for Mr Douglas and others to confer about our affairs. The last Mr Sharp hindered; for with himself alone it pleased his Majesty to confer; and the sense of the first, few of us dreamed till it came out thereafter. We were amazed at the proclamation, discharging all petitioning against Episcopal government, established by law, as it was in the year 1633; of putting down our synods, presbyteries, and sessions; of calling up Mr Sharp,



Mr Fairfoul, and Mr Ja. Hamilton of Cambusnethan, also Mr Leighton, then at London, to be consecrated by the English bishops; which, after some time, they were by the Bishops of London and Worcester, and others, with many English gnyfes. Their feast to all the Scots, and many of the English nobility, was great. They staid there some months longer than was expected, that they might be sufficiently instructed in the English way. When they came down, they were received by a number of noblemen, gentlemen, and the magistrates of Edinburgh. The Commissioner's lady feasted them and the nobility that night magnificently, as the Chancellor did the morrow thereafter. Mr Sharp bought a fair new coach at London, at the sides of which two lacqueys in purple does run.

The parliament of England did all things for the King he pleased; augmented much his revenues beyond what any King in England ever had before. After some conferences at Worcester-house betwixt the bishops and a few of the Presbyterians, where it was hoped his Majesty would bring the bishops to a great condescension, at last it was found they would yield in as good as nothing: so the House of Commons formed a bill of uniformity, that all should be put from their charges who did not conform to the bishops orders. On this the House of Lords made some demur, and yet does; but we doubt not of their agreement to it at last; and from thenceforth a fearful persecution is expected, for the prevalent party of the Episcopal faction are imbittered, and, both in doctrine and party, it seems, fully of the old Canterburian stamp. God be merciful to our brethren, who have no help of man, nor any refuge but in God alone. We fear our case shall be little better. Our parliament was adjourned from the 10th of March to the 8th of May. The Commissioner and our nobles were desired not to leave London till they had seen the Queen. Also much talk was of discord betwixt the Commissioner and Treasurer about the collection of the new revenue of L. 40,000 Sterling. The Treasurer pleaded it might come into the exchequer, and the other had obtained a gift of collecting it to his good-brother Lord Lyon. The Secretary parted with the one, and my Lord Hyde with the other. The strife was more long and loud than was fit. The King agreed them at last as it might be. The Commissioner came from London on the



the Wednesday, and came hither on the Sunday morning. The archbishops consecrated other five on the Wednesday in the Abbey-church; Mr Haliburton to Dunkeld, Mr Paterfon to Ross, Mr Murdoch Mackenzie to Moray, Mr Forbes to Caithness, Mr Robert Wallace to the Isles; Dr Withart, designed for Edinburgh, and Mr David Mitchell, for Aberdeen, are not yet come out of England; nor old Sydserf, appointed for Orkney. Mr David Fletcher, whose patent was for Argyle, refused it, the rent being naught. The Commissioner gave the feast after consecration, as his Majesty had defrayed liberally all their charges in England.

Our bishop, the other week, took a start to come to Glasgow. The Commissioner convoyed him, with Montrose, Linlithgow, Callender, and sundry more noblemen and gentlemen, with a number of our town's folk, both horse and foot, with all our bells ringing, brought them to the tolbooth to a great collation. He preached on the Sunday, soberly and well; but Mr Hugh Blair in the afternoon, ridiculously worse than his ordinary. Some of my neighbours were earnest that the Chancellor and he should have a collation in the college on Monday morning. Against this I reasoned much; but was overvoted, to our great and needless charge: 200 pound paid not our charge. Mr John Young made to the bishop a speech of welcome, beside my knowledge. The Chancellor, my noble kind scholar, brought all in to see me in my chamber, where I gave them sack and ale the best of the town. The bishop was very courteous to me. I excused my not using of his styles, and professed my utter difference from his way; yet behaved to intreat his favour for our affairs of the college; wherein he promised liberally. What he will perform, time will try.

The council called for Mr Robert Blair some months ago, but never yet made him appear. We think they have no particular to lay to his charge, but the common quarrel of Episcopacy; only will not have him abide in St Andrew's to be a daily eye-fore to his Grace. Also they called Mr John Carstairs, that he should not sit in Glasgow, to preach after his manner against the times, to bear him company. Mr James Macninch is likewise written for, as is thought, that the deanry of Hamilton may vaixe for Mr James Ramsay, and with him Mr William Adair of Ayr, the two ministers of Kilmarnock, Mr  
John





John Veitch of Mauchline, and Mr Alexander Blair of Galsstone. The guyse now is, the bishops will trouble no man, but the state will punish seditious ministers. We are in the most hard taking we have seen at any time. It is the matter of my daily grief, and I think it has brought all my bodily trouble on me, and I fear it shall do me more harm.

I pray you hasten my book. I intend no other preface than it has. I purposed a dedication for Lauderdale; but it seems it now will not be welcome to him. I wrote to him of it, but he did not answer. However, that will be the last sheet. For verses here I intend none. I care not for vanities. Let me have my count with you, that I may know what English money to send you. My hearty service to your dear kind wife and all your sweet children. I rest, after the old fashion,

Your Cousin, to serve you,

ROBERT BAILLIE.

GLOS-



# G L O S S A R Y.

always—however, nevertheless  
 alienarly—only  
 anent—concerning  
 athort—among, or through  
 attour—over and above  
 aughtin—owing  
 backing—partisans, assistants, fol-  
   lowers  
 bardish—impertinent  
 baxters—bakers  
 benfail—bias, propensity  
 blephum—mere pretence  
 blue bore—fair appearance  
 bonny—elegant, fine, handsome  
 bruckle—brittle  
 bruik—enjoy  
 boast—threaten  
 brae—declivity of a hill  
 by,—besides, vol. i. p. 339. lin. 41.  
 bygone—time past  
 blink—slight perusal; sometimes  
   sneer  
 blythe—glad  
 broaching—hatching  
 caged—imprisoned  
 causcy—street  
 cuttedly—hastily  
 cummer—gossip  
 cracking—credit decreasing  
 compear—appear  
 causcy-cloaths—fashionable dress  
 canny—prudent  
 clatters—uncertain reports  
 cessing—taxing  
 compested—defeated  
 colduse—lukewarm  
 cullionry—peltroony  
 caulms—moulds  
 coupers—horse-jockeys  
 coinzie-house—mint-house  
 cap—salute  
 curious—anxious to know  
 curler—a diversion on ice  
 cling—beat  
 divot—turf  
 dorlacks—dagger or short sword  
 drilling—small rain  
 dicted, dyted—dictated  
 dilled down—died away  
 Dordracenism—an assenter of the ar-  
   ticles of the synod of Dort  
 dainties—a rare thing  
 disjune—breakfast  
 dyvour—bankrupt

dool—grief, mourning  
 decerned—adjudged, gave judge-  
   ment  
 decreet—decree or sentence  
 dittay—accusation  
 deaved—deafened  
 drumly—muddy  
 demented—distracted  
 expone—expound  
 exceded—exempted  
 eke—add  
 evited—shunned  
 ergus—fear  
 ferd—fervour  
 fecus—quitrants  
 foreanent—opposite to  
 slit—remove  
 frequent numbers—great numbers  
 flyting—scolding  
 flought—flame, combustion  
 field-coming—coming abroad  
 foregainst—opposite to  
 fashions—troublesome  
 fashrie—trouble  
 grip—hold  
 guyfes—fashions, ceremonies  
 gloom—frown  
 good-dame—grandmother  
 good-brother—brother-in-law  
 good-son—son-in-law  
 galliard—briik, lively  
 hose-net—snare  
 here-yesterday—the day before ye-  
   sterday  
 haunst—eagerly catched  
 hows—difficulties  
 haill—whole  
 horning—denouncing a man a rebel  
 interlocutor—decision  
 inkling—distant hint  
 ilk—each  
 inlack—want  
 kythe—appear  
 lent fire—slow fire  
 laigh—low  
 libel—indictment  
 lathness—laxnets  
 leet—list  
 let be—much less  
 mint—attempt  
 nister—want  
 malison—evil wish, curse  
 miskan—let alone  
 mischant—mischievous  
   mishappens



# G L O S S A R Y.

- mishappens—unfortunateness  
 will he would he—whether he would  
 or not  
 notars—attorneys  
 neaves—sifts  
 notour—publicly known  
 our fault of you—our want of you  
 vol. 2. p. 136. l. 42.  
 pendicle—appendage  
 Pasch—Easter  
 propone—propound  
 perquire—discreetly  
 phrase—pretence  
 preveen—prevent  
 paiked—drubbed  
 process—prosecution  
 pock—bag  
 peats—turf, fuel  
 reek—smoke  
 remeid—remedy  
 reposed—replaced  
 readily—possibly  
 rooved—clinched  
 rued—lop  
 scant—few  
 speat—inundation  
 sua—so  
 speired—asked  
 stail host—main array  
 stiebrouities—roughly  
 spunk—spark  
 shored—threatened  
 stick—stop, stab  
 sickerty—surely  
 sicklike—suchlike  
 soon or syne—sooner or later  
 stak—strong  
 stiaith—harm  
 seurching—drubbing  
 stoops—supporters, pillars  
 setter of tacks—letter of leases  
 tacks—leases  
 traiked—weakened by fatigue  
 tint—lost  
 tyne—lose  
 thereanent—concerning it  
 trash—refuse, lumber  
 twenty shilling—twenty pence  
 tolbooth—prison, goal  
 thir—these  
 thrawart—backward  
 terned—choleric  
 the morn—to morrow  
 tocher—dowry  
 tryst—appointment  
 targe—shield  
 tirlies—trellis or rails  
 there-east—in the east  
 trewsinen—highlanders  
 unpaunded—unpledged  
 uncanny—mischievous  
 unwell—sick, not well  
 unkent—unknown  
 unfriends—enemies  
 unlaws—laws of no force  
 while—till  
 whiles—sometimes  
 win—get in  
 wyte—blame  
 water-brac—river-bank  
 whilkas—whichas  
 whinger—hanger  
 vaikc—to be vacant  
 vaiking—becoming vacant  
 voice—vot  
 Zuill—Christmas  
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